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NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

NOTICE TO READERS: The United States Government recognizes the independence of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

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Worldwide Issues

G-7 Meetings Continue, Results Reported

Gorbachev Meets Representatives

LD2011104791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0920 GMT 20 Nov 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Andrey Pershin]

[Text] Moscow, 20 Nov (TASS)—A meeting began in the Kremlin this morning between USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev and representatives of the seven leading industrialized countries of the West.

This is the second time high ranking officials and experts from the G-7 finance ministries have come to Moscow over the last month to discuss with the heads of governments of the sovereign republics the question of settling the USSR's foreign debt. The second round of these consultations opened in Moscow yesterday in quite a difficult atmosphere. This has arisen because individual republics have failed to confirm their signatures to the memorandum "On mutual understanding regarding the debt to foreign creditors of the USSR and its legal successors," which was concluded on completion of the first round of the meeting with G-7 at the end of October.

A TASS correspondent was told by Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, deputy chairman of the Interstate Economic Committee, that nine sovereign republics had confirmed their signatures to the document by this morning.

This factor is creating great difficulties in continuing the dialogue with the West, whose agreed position on the problem of the debt is well known. G-7 insists that a condition of easing the Union's current exceptionally difficult financial and economic situation and of rendering it various forms of aid must be the republics unreserved recognition of their joint and several responsiblity for the USSR's debts.

The current situation was discussed in Moscow today behind closed doors at a meeting of the council of heads of government of the member states of the economic community.

Certainly, the question of settling the Union's foreign debt will be central to Mikhail Gorbachev's conversation with representatives of G-7 which began in the Kremlin.

Yavlinskiy, Grachev Comment

LD2011153691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1305 GMT 20 Nov 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Andrey Pershin]

[Text] Moscow, 20 Nov (TASS)—The main thing is that the dialogue with the Western partners is not being interrupted, in spite of all the complex problems and difficulties. This was stated to a TASS correspondent by Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, deputy head of the USSR Committee for the Operational Management of the National Economy, on the results of today's conversation between USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev and representatives of the G-7, and on the progress of their consultations with the heads of government of the 12 sovereign republics.

As has been reported already, nine of the 12 republics at the second round of consultations with the G-7 under way in Moscow have confirmed their signatures beneath the memorandum "On Mutual Understanding Regarding the Debt to the Foreign Creditors of the USSR and its Legal Successors," which was adopted at the end of October. The Ukraine, Azerbaijan, and Uzbekistan have for various reasons abstained from confirming their signatures on the document.

Grigoriy Yavlinskiy noted that the G-7 would apply measures against the republics which did not sign the memorandum in line with world practice regarding debt defaulters. In his words, in this case this could mean "very serious economic sanctions." The West has a very clear understanding of the situation in our country, which stands at a dangerous level, and it wants to "use the foreign debt as a pretext for directing our reforms in a constructive and safe direction."

If you cast aside political and other matters of pride, Grigoriy Yavlinskiy stressed, the G-7's package of proposals contains nothing unacceptable to professionals. The heads of government of the sovereign republics were presented with the entire range of these issues in all seriousness, but there is still no reply to them.

Following Mikhail Gorbachev's meeting with G-7 representatives, Andrey Grachev, the USSR president's press secretary, told a TASS correspondent that the Western partners understand the need to take immediate measures to lift the USSR out of crisis and to implement a program of radical reforms. The representatives of the West are linking economic assistance with progress in implementing reforms. On this point the G-7 expressed readiness to involve itself in rendering emergency aid to our country to overcome the crisis.

In the USSR president's view, Andrey Grachev noted, there is still no understanding at the political level that joint action by the republics is the only way to overcome the crisis and to implement radical changes. The USSR president's press secretary singled out Mikhail Gorbachev's words at the meeting that the agreement already concluded on an economic community, the prospect of a political treaty among the republics, and G-7 support could become elements of a single process along the road of overcoming the crisis and implementing the reform program.

Plans To Ease Debt Announced

OW2011004291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2030 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The world's leading industrialized states announced on Tuesday [19 November] that they were ready to put off the payment of foreign debt by the USSR and give it new loans which are expected to help it tackle the current monetary crisis. This news was announced after the second day of dramatic talks between the Group of Seven's deputy-ministers of finances and representatives of the sovereign states.

Although Azerbaijan, Georgia, Uzbekistan and the Ukraine have refused to sign the memorandum on servicing the USSR's foreign debt, the Group of Seven has offered a deferment to the remaining eight republics (with the exception of the three Baltic states whose debt will be dealt with in separate agreements). A member of the Italian delegation said that what was meant here was a deferment from January 1 till the end of 1992 of interests repayment on the medium and long-term debt which amounts to 10 per cent of the USSR's entire debt. The Group of Seven will also extend the USSR a bridge loan of 1 billion dollars for servicing the short-term debts. Besides that, the West has announced that it was ready to re-open the frozen credit lines.

On Tuesday, the talks continued without the Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan and Georgia, whose delegations left the negotiating table at the proposal of the Russian Federation's Vice-Premier Yegor Gaydar. These republics had either refused to confirm their signatures under the memorandum on mutual understanding concerning the USSR's foreign debt, or signed this document with reservations.

Ukrainian Premier Mr. Fokin confirmed on Tuesday that the Ukraine recognized its collective responsibility for the USSR's foreign debt but would not join the memorandum until the share of every republic in the USSR's foreign debt and assets was defined. Mr. Fokin described the memorandum as a fettering agreement and as an enigmatic bill which contained no figures.

Moldovan Premier Valeriy Muravskiy said after the talks on Tuesday that the republics, with foreign experts' participation, would begin consultations on restructuring the foreign debt and on reforming the Soviet economy.

On Wednesday [20 November] the talks will continue.

Western Debt Memorandum Viewed

LD1911175291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1616 GMT 19 Nov 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow, 19 Nov (TASS)—Nine of the 12 sovereign republics of the former USSR taking part in talks with representatives of the seven most developed Western countries today signed a memorandum "On Mutual Understanding Regarding the Debt to Foreign Creditors of the USSR and its Legal Successors." Belarus [Belorussian] Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich told journalists this during a break in the talks. According to him, the Ukraine, Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan have not signed the document. The head of the Belarus Government stressed that the memorandum remains open for signing by the remaining participants in the talks. He clarified that the Ukraine and Azerbaijan have voiced their intention to become parties to the document after the assets and liabilities of each republic have been determined. At the same time, representatives of the "G-7" rejected Uzbekistan's intention to pay its part of the debt independently, stressing that they recognize only "joint responsibility."

"The Ukraine admits the debts and the joint and various liabilities to pay them but requires that the central departments make public all the assets and liabilities." This was stated in a conversation with journalists by Vitold Fokin, head of the government of the Ukraine, who is taking part in the meeting between G-7 representatives and the leaders of the governments of the sovereign republics of the former Union which is taking place in Moscow.

According to the Ukrainian prime minister, he did not sign "a blank check." True, he did say that the signature of the Ukraine is on the memorandum; however it will only be confirmed after the debts and the assets of the country are known.

Dzhamshed Karimov, first deputy prime minister of Tajikistan, told journalists that the representatives of the "Seven" had given their proposals on giving aid to the country. Tomorrow, he noted, it is possible that an agreement will be reached with the "Seven" on ways of resolving the currency problems of the former Union. However, this only concerns those republics that have signed the memorandum.

One of the members of the Western delegation told journalists that the proposal of the "Seven" amounts to postponing by one year the payment by the Soviet Union of $5 to $6 billion consisting of interest payments on loans. The West also proposes that the country should be given short-term credit.

Confirmation of Signatures Achieved

LD1911143291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1309 GMT 19 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondents Boris Grishchenko and Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow, 19 Nov (TASS)—The stalemate which took shape this morning at the meeting of the council of heads of the missions of the sovereign states-former republics of the USSR has, it seems, been partially overcome. After three hours of acute debates, the eleven states confirmed their signatures on the October memorandum regarding debt to foreign creditors of the USSR and its legal successors. Uzbekistan has refused to do this, as before. The Ukraine has promised to give final confirmation of its signature in a week's time.

Confirmation of the signatures of the former republics on the memorandum was set as a basic condition at talks by the delegation from the financial circles of the "Big Seven" which is in Moscow and which demanded unconditional and solitary responsibility for the debts of the USSR from the republics of the former Union. Without this, we would apparently not receive new credits.

Incidentally, TASS correspondents have discovered that the figures for hard currency debts were named today at a meeting of the council which was closed to journalists: foreign states owe the Soviet Union around $150 billion while our country must pay its creditors around $120 billion.

This correlation of debt obligations has encouraged the republics to try to immediately begin a division of the assets. It cannot be ruled out that this might have been the cause of the unwillingness of a number of the sovereign states to confirm their signatures on the memorandum again. It seems that some still hope to gain.

It is, admittedly, not known whether the G-7 delegation will accept the eleven confirmed signatures instead of the dozen promised. Talks on this have already begun in the fashionable Moscow Oktyabrskaya Hotel. If these fail to give results, the meeting of the council of the heads of government of the sovereign member states of the economic community will continue its work in accordance with the agenda drawn up previously. On this, in addition to the issue of the country's hard currency situation, are the country's emergency budget until the end of the year, the initialling of the drafts of very important agreements envisaged by the Economic Community Treaty, the coordination of the price setting mechanism and others.

Republic Officials Comment

LD1911224891 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Report by correspondent V. Perfilyev on interrepublican debt talks in Moscow on 19 November, including recorded remarks by Ukraine Prime Minister V. P. Fokin and Belorussian Prime Minister V. F. Kebich; from the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] For the second day the government leaders of the sovereign republics have held talks in Moscow on how and to whom to pay off the former Union's foreign debt. The memorandum which they are due to sign provides for collective responsibility for the payment of the debt. In other words, if one of them refuses to pay, the others will have to do it for them. This principle is, it appears, too harsh for some republics.

[Perfilyev] Journalists learned today that figures on hard currency debts owed to the Soviet Union were given at the council session. Foreign states owed about $150 billion, while our country is obligated to pay its creditors approximately $120 billion. This correlation of debt obligations, then, clearly motivated the republics to a desire to immediately start distributing assets.

[Fokin] We have virtually signed the memorandum, we have signed it, and assumed collective responsibility. I do not believe there was any other way, unpleasant though it may be. Responsibility has to be collective because our Western partners and our creditors should not be worried about this. They are right to demand guarantees for the paying off of credits. But we, you know, we blindly signed for goodness knows what kind of debts, without knowing how many years they would take to be paid off. What's more, even the mechanism of paying them off has until now not been the subject of legislation.

[Perfilyev] We have already told viewers that the delegation of the financial circles of the Big Seven, which is in Moscow, set the responsibility of all the republics for the USSR's debts as a condition for our country's obtaining new credits.

[Kebich] The majority of the republics realize that they cannot count on new credits until debts are settled. In my opinion this not only applies to states, but also to ordinary people. No one will give loans if the person who accepts them doesn't pay them back. In my view, we must give way somewhere and make a compromise, and accept those figures which have been worked out by the experts.

[Perfilyev] After three hours of acute debates, it was still not clear how many states would sign the memorandum. And Uzbekistan, in fact, has unambiguously refused to do so.

Uzbekistan Explains Position

OW1911165391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1510 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Uzbekistan's Vice-President Shukurullo Mirsaidov who is attending in Moscow a session of the council of the heads of sovereign republics on the problem of repaying the USSR's foreign debt explained to newsmen on Tuesday [19 November] why the Uzbek parliament decided to refrain from signing the memorandum on mutual understanding in regard to the debt.

According to him, the memorandum envisages mutual responsibility for repaying the country's foreign debt. This means that if a republic refuses to pay, others will have to do so for it. At the moment, S. Mirsaidov pointed out, only 3 to 4 republics, Uzbekistan among them, are capable of repaying debts.

Besides, said Uzbekistan's vice-president, his republic opposes the idea that the dividing of the USSR's foreign debt should be based on the size of the population in the given republic, not on the amount of foreign credits received by each republic in the past.

According to S. Mirsaidov, the terms suggested to the sovereign republics by spokesmen for the G-7's financial institutions are "not quite diplomatic". "They want to resolve this problem in the form of ultimatum: Sign the memorandum first, and after that we'll speak about credits", he said.

When told by IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent that the West might refuse to grant the former USSR food credits in the amount of some 8 billion dollars this winter if the memorandum fails to be signed, Uzbekistan's vice-president declared that the present state of affairs in the country does not indicate that it's necessary to put up with an ultimatum.

Besides, said S. Mirsaidov, if this country continues to borrow money for food, not for production, it will never overcome poverty.

Press Chief Grachev Gives Briefing 19 Nov

NATO Role in European Process Viewed

LD1911163?91 Moscow TASS in English 1602 GMT 19 Nov 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Staroselskiy]

[Text] Moscow November 19 TASS—The Soviet president's press service chief Andrey Grachev at a briefing on the results of the NATO session in Rome said although "cold war stereotypes" are long gone, NATO must not overtake the European process.

Referring to a recent meeting between Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and a diplomatic adviser to the Italian prime minister, Grachev quoted Gorbachev as saying the meeting is a major event in world affairs and it should capitalize on the changes on the international arena.

The Soviet leadership welcomes the understanding of Soviet reform and the necessity to preserve the unity of the former Soviet republics which was manifested in Rome, Grachev said. As far as the idea of creating a North Atlantic Cooperation Council is concerned, Moscow will support it "as long as it continues in harmony with the Helsinki and Paris agreements, said the Soviet spokesman.

On Talks With Afghan Opposition

LD1911163691 Moscow TASS in English 1606 GMT 19 Nov 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Vladimir Suprun]

[Text] Moscow November 19 TASS—Andrey Grachev, a spokesman for the Soviet president, described last week's talks in Moscow between the USSR and Russian Federation leaders and representatives of a major group of the Afghan mujahedeen, who came to the USSR for the first time, as "a useful step towards establishing a direct dialogue between the Afghan opposition and the Soviet side".

According to Grachev, the talks enabled the sides to move forward along the path of realizing the principles set out in the U.N. secretary-general's statement as well as Soviet-American accords on Afghanistan.

"We welcome the prospect for expediting the release of former Soviet prisoners of war being held by the opposition," he said.

Along with this, the presidential spokesman stressed that despite the fact that the results of the talks were regarded as positive in the Soviet Union, they marked only one step, not exhausting the conflict by far, along the road leading towards its final settlement".

On Treaty Talks, Election Plan

LD1911225391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 19 Nov 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] Quite a lot of attention was devoted to problems of the new Union at a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists in Moscow. The journalists were interested in the consequences of the nonparticipation of a number of republics in the work on the Union treaty. Andrey Grachev, the head of the USSR President's Press Service, was not inclined to dramatize the situation, recalling that there were considerable doubts along the way to the economic treaty, too. The political leadership, possessing the will and initiative, is opposed to the disintegration of the policy toward stabilization and unification of efforts. In the opinion of Veniamin Yakovlev, advisor to the USSR president, the signing of the treaty will not be delayed since work on the text has already been completed in accordance with the results of the discussions at Novo-Ogarevo.

Regarding the discussions on the procedure for the election of the president of the Union, according to a compromise which was found, he is due to be elected by the citizens of the country, and the procedure for the election will be determined by the law. Commenting on the transfer of a number of ministries to Russian jurisdiction, in particular the Gossnab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply], Yakovlev noted that this question had not been agreed upon at the State Council. In welcoming Russia's transfer to market conditions, the president's advisor stressed at the same time that the coordinated actions of the republics are important when reforms are being carried out.

Union Foreign Policy Aims Considered

PM1911144591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Nov 91 p 5

["My Opinion" article by Pavel Bogomolov: "Time To Select Priorities"]

[Text] Each time has its own policy, its own approaches toward internal and external matters. Continuity, even the most noble, is a relative concept: It inevitably ossifies in the absence of fresh reassessments prompted by the course of events. Speaking at international forums since the failure of the August putsch, our diplomatic leaders have invariably assured their partners that the foreign policy which has its roots in 1985 will be continued. It is on this plane that the thesis of the continuity of the "Gorbachev-Shevardnadze line" is being widely commented on.

I shall stipulate immediately that in contrast to all kinds of "pseudopatriots" I can see clearly quite a lot that is positive in the foreign policy of recent years. That includes the start of real disarmament, the unblocking of a number of regional conflicts and, for instance, the cessation of the Soviet Armed Forces' participation in the Afghan war....

But does all that mean that our diplomacy's strategic line must invariably remain as it was before? And what is this line in general? A far from simple question, because the overall atmosphere of good-neighborliness and mutual understanding with the West and our constant readiness for compromise are not actually a line, not a foreign policy concept.

The key foreign policy doctrine of the past six years, whether or not we want to admit it, is the dismantling of the USSR's "imperial safety zones." A frequently unsystematic and chaotic dismantling and, most importantly, an extremely rapid one. The Warsaw Pact and CEMA now no longer exist and the Soviet military presence has been drastically reduced in Vietnam and minimized in Mongolia while it is virtually nonexistent in the Arab East, Angola, Ethiopia, Yemen, and Nicaragua. The last outposts of our "foreign empire" like the motorized rifle brigade in Cuba are obviously close to the end of their missions.

In winding up everything which Western political scientists used to call the spheres of Soviet power interests, Moscow proceeded from a seemingly noble premise: putting an end to Brezhnev's doctrine of "restricted sovereignty" for allied friendly countries. In addition it was proposed to release for domestic purposes the colossal resources concentrated outside the USSR within the mainstream of the previous essentially global confrontation with the United States.

How and why these "released" resources have scattered into dust is a bitter question, but a separate one meriting a special discussion. But the fact is that in practice our foreign policy has resulted in the overthrow not only of the USSR's military-political influence but also of any other influence on world affairs. Perhaps the moral authority of some of our initiatives is not yet great, but there is a reduction in the sphere of Moscow's real influence on the course not only of world events but also of European events, for instance in Yugoslavia. But you can hardly mention this openly without immediately hearing in reply indignant rebukes of failing to understand the new political thinking. But let us investigate: What is this "new thinking?" In summing up many of its characteristics you reach what is in general an ordinary and very simple formula: "We are deideologizing our policy and refusing to act from a position of strength, although we are very strong." Well, that corresponded to the truth in 1985 and in 1989. But today we are not strong, we are weaker than ever, and even the notorious nuclear umbrella looks extremely unreliable under the conditions of the USSR's self-dissolution. Moreover, instead of general human values, it is, alas, national isolation that is triumphing everywhere. What then has the "new thinking" got to do with it...?

It is in this underlying failure to comply with the altered realities of the modern world that the perniciousness of our foreign policy consists now, at the end of 1991. The country's leaders have evidently failed to notice that a not definitively recognized but nonetheless direct interconnection and even continuity exists between our headlong departure from foreign parts and the collapse of the Union today. Because the strength of inertia is an enormous strength which erases the border between a justified review of former hegemonistic aims and the collapse of our own home. Here would be the right moment to speak finally not of a "new thinking" but simply of the logic of thinking, of the ability to predict at least something, of the legitimate aspiration to prevent the national catastrophe advancing on us all.

We are continuing to "reassure" our foreign partners with our adherence to a "line." But if we are to be devoted to this line to the end, then we will have to dismantle not only the external but also the "internal Soviet empire," chopping it up into not only economic but also military-political pieces. Actually, it is this which is denounced in their speeches by the USSR president and by the former head of our diplomacy. So is it not time to pay tribute to former aims, at least on the plane of our endless retreat under the influence of domestic and international factors? And at the same time to elaborate something new, more in keeping with the moment the country is living through.

Incidentally, the West is already hurrying us along on this plane. Yes, so far it has been impressed by the decentralization of the "Soviet empire" and its strategic retreat from the Yalta boundaries. But driving the USSR Armed Forces out of Czechoslovakia is one thing, driving them out of Moldova is quite another. Or it is one thing when Warsaw fails to consider Moscow's opinion but another when the same happens in Kiev, for instance.

Expressing concern in connection with the Ukraine's plans to create its own Armed Forces, the U.S. State Department stated: Washington "does not believe that the creation of large independent armies will accord with constructive aims." Noting the need for the further existence of a central structure within the USSR, British

Prime Minister Major stated that this structure means a single army, central control over nuclear weapons, a single market, and a coordinated foreign policy. Yes, the world around us or at least its main centers of power are openly telling the opponents of the USSR's military and political unity to stop and are demanding that a firm barrier be placed on the path of the further isolation of what are already sovereign states in the image and likeness of the recent collapse of the "world socialist system."

It is obviously time for our foreign policy departments—both Union and Russian—to make clear what are, in this confusion, the key tasks of Soviet diplomacy in, for instance, preserving the European status quo and protecting the fundamental principles of Helsinki. As for the meaning and functional direction of our foreign policy, here everything would seem to be clear: nuclear disarmament, international security, activity in defense of rights, and the promotion of a settlement of regional conflicts. But after all there should also be geopolitical emphases: Where and in what regions and how do we intend to defend our own lawful national interests?

Perhaps in East Europe? But after all throughout recent years it has not been promoting our dialogue with the West. And sometimes it has even been hindering the granting of Western aid to the Soviet Union in an attempt to "intercept" it at some international meetings. Life itself and the grim reality of economic survival will continue inevitably to prompt the East Europeans to such actions.

As always, the economy is followed by policy—on the Danube, the Vltava, and the Wisla it sometimes looks more like NATO policy than in NATO itself. Will this tendency change in the very near future? Hardly, although economists promise us a revival of the former CEMA market. So, one asks, why nurture illusions and, through inertia, call East Europe the most important, priority sphere of our foreign policy?

Yes, we are neighbors and for us correct good-neighborliness continues to be important. Just as important, I think, is the timely payment of our debts and the fulfillment of all commitments for the withdrawal of Soviet troops and humanitarian contacts. So I do not call for any curtailment of relations with East Europe. But we cannot discount either the barrier which has arisen there between us and the flow of Western capital we want so much. And following the East European barrier one more is arising—in the shape of the Baltic states, the Ukraine, and Moldova.

Under the conditions of "continental strip farming" should we construct without former activeness an all-European home based on obviously obsolete blueprints? I think that membership of this home would tie our already weakened power hand and foot. Is it not better to be more modest and to conduct our affairs with the West without the former self-publicity, directly, bypassing our immediate neighbors? Especially as under the influence of the Balkan crisis and some other events the EC is already rushing to fence itself off from the Eastern part of the continent with a joint shield.

There are a mass of these "geopolitical" questions. For instance, how is it possible to continue talking of the abiding value of the Vladivostok initiatives for the Asian and Pacific zone if those initiatives were based on the unchanging nature of the postwar world structure, and today many people are trying to forget this unchanging nature? Is it not time finally to put foremost in Moscow's Far East policy the only correct principle, perhaps even one that is salutary for us, of interest in an approximately equal, mutually equalized balance of forces between powers like Japan and China?

Questions, questions.... Of course it is harder to give specific answers to them than to argue about the "continuity of the line." And nonetheless they must be answered—diplomacy has a responsibility to the people to do this.

NATO Statement on USSR Events Discussed

PM1911153991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Nov 91 Union Edition p 3

[Vikentiy Matveyev "Political Observer's Opinion:" "What Is at Stake"]

[Text] The Rome NATO session at the level of heads of state and government was marked by a 180-degree turn by NATO regarding its attitude to our nuclear weapons. It is now no longer the very fact of their existence that is seen as a threat to the West. Concern—and there is no ambiguity here—is being expressed over the fact that they may become a bone of contention between certain parts of the former unitary Soviet power, as a result of which centralized control of them will be lost.

The NATO countries' governments would consider such a turn of events extremely undesirable. The "Statement on Events in the USSR" made on behalf of these countries contains an appeal to all organs of power in our country to "refrain from any steps capable of leading to the proliferation of nuclear weapons or other means of mass destruction." It is stressed that "this question affects the security interests of the whole Atlantic alliance, and also the security interests of the international community as a whole."

The NATO leaders did not go further than expressing this concern, but what was said was enough to bring home the seriousness of this political action.

Even previously American officials had made statements that Washington does not recognize and will not have any economic dealings with sovereign republics which, by their actions, undermine the commitments assumed by the USSR on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons.

Evidently Western capitals are not inclined to calmly accept assurances from responsible representatives of military departments in Moscow regarding the reliability of the current control of Soviet nuclear weapons. Otherwise why would NATO issue a special statement on this subject? There is no clarity on a number of important questions. Where will the Soviet nuclear arsenal, which also includes tens of thousands of tactical charges, ultimately be stationed? At what rate will this arsenal be reduced? What will the "central command" be in conditions of the disintegration of the former Union?

At the same time our side scarcely has a clear idea of what Washington and Brussels intend to do if the aforementioned statement by the NATO countries' leaders does not produce the desired effect.

The new Atlantic strategic concept, which proceeds from the radical improvement in the situation in Europe as a result of the disappearance—as another document of the Rome NATO session says—"of the massive and potentially direct threat," nevertheless points out that "there exists a great risk of the emergence of other crises which could develop rapidly and would demand a rapid reaction."

To this end it is planned to create a small but mobile contingent of "immediate and rapid reaction forces" while at the same time preserving the integrated military structure based on common operational planning, multinational formations, stationing forces outside national territories wherever appropriate, on a mutual basis, common standards for military hardware, and so on.

The NATO countries' governments would also like to see an analogous approach to the future of the Armed Forces within the framework of the community of sovereign republics of our former unitary state. They do not perceive the rather close integration of their national Armed Forces as detrimental to themselves from the viewpoint of their rights and prerogatives. While remaining masters in their own home, in this way they can best ensure peaceful coexistence and also defend their vital interests from possible dangers and threats from outside.

And if these governments are now expressing concern at the threat posed by the chaotic state of affairs regarding nuclear weapons and the Armed Forces in general on the enormous territory of what used to the the Soviet Union, how much more serious must the risk be to all of us living on this territory if things really do descend into chaos!

The lessons of the bloody internecine conflict in Yugoslavia are before everyone's eyes. But the former USSR is dozens of "Yugoslavias" in size and, what is more, it has the most murderous and destructive weapons.

Now even the central Yugoslav leadership has appealed to the UN Security Council to send special UN forces to the conflict areas in order to assist in ending hostilities. It is reported that around 10,000 well armed servicemen with air and sea support may be needed for this.

The United Nations already has many peacemaking operations to its credit and their scope is being extended. Whereas in the first 40 years of the organization's existence, that is, by the mid-1980's, 13 such operations had been carried out, eight have been carried out in the last three years alone. In Europe, however, there have never been any before. Yugoslavia may become the first such arena on the continent. The difficulties, both political and technical, will be colossal, and chances of success are by no means guaranteed unless the people involved in the conflict come to their senses.

Any dispute, and particularly a conflict, is always immeasurably more difficult to end than to prevent. This is a truism, but it is not always grasped in time.

The "Statement on Events in the USSR" by the NATO countries' leaders does not contain any threats. It rightly warns against hasty steps and actions in a sphere affecting the lives of many people. And everyone who realizes what is at stake here should undoubtedly listen attentively.

United States & Canada

Grachev on Strategic Stability Group Meeting

LD1911143791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1356 GMT 19 Nov 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Staroselskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 19 Nov (TASS)— The first meeting of the Soviet-U.S. strategic stability group will meet in Washington on 20-21 November, Andrey Grachev, leader of the USSR president's press service, reported at a briefing today. This group, he recalled, was formed by a joint decision of Presidents Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush. The unofficial discussion at a high political level of the problems concerning the geopolitical situation in our changing world, the nature of the threats to international stability which arise and are forecast, cooperation between the USSR and the United States in the matter of neutralizing them, and crisis and conflict prevention is the aim of the meeting.

Andrey Grachev said that the leader of the "team" on the Soviet side is Aleksandr Yakovlev, state adviser to the USSR president, and the coordinator is Vladimir Petrovskiy, first deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR.

[Moscow INTERFAX in English at 1748 GMT on 19 November carries a similar report and adds the following: "The Soviets are sending to Washington a member of the Soviet President's political advisory council, Aleksandr Yakovlev, Soviet deputy foreign minister Vladimir Petrovskiy, and Yevgeniy Primakov, Yuriy Ryzhov and Sergey Stankevich."]

Yakovlev Meets Bush, Delivers Message

LD1911231491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2145 GMT 19 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksey Berezhkov]

[Text] Washington, 19 Nov (TASS)—A meeting between United States President George Bush and Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Political Consultative Council attached to the USSR president, who is on a visit here, was held in the White House today [19 November]. Issues relating to the situation in the Soviet Union, relations between republics and the center and economic cooperation between the USSR and the United States were discussed.

A. Yakovlev handed over to G. Bush a message from USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev.

Bush Welcomes Shevardnadze Appointment

LD1911231591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2153 GMT 19 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksey Berezhkov]

[Text] Washington, 19 Nov (TASS)—United States President George Bush today welcomed the appointment of Eduard Shevardnadze as USSR Minister of External Affairs by the USSR president. Asked to comment on this decision of the Soviet leadership before his meeting with Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the consultative council attached to the USSR president, Bush said: "We know him very well and respect him deeply...Shevardnadze has many friends in this country...We shall have close working relations with him".

Gorbachev Receives U.S. Publisher

LD1911171291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1620 GMT 19 Nov 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Andrey Pershin]

[Text] Moscow, Nov 19 (TASS)—The USSR president received in his Kremlin office this evening Mortimer Zuckerman, a well-known American publisher and the editor-in-chief of the popular journal U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT. It is expected that the interlocutors, who know each other well, will exchange views on the situation in the two countries and prospects for bilateral relations.

In the last few years, Mortimer Zuckerman has on many occasions visited the USSR and met and interviewed Mikhail Gorbachev.

CIA Changes Foreseen as Gates Takes Office

PM1911144491 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Nov 91 Union Edition p 7

[A. Blinov report: "Life Without the Red Threat: The CIA Changes the Emphasis, But Does Not Abandon Espionage"]

[Text] The first working day of Robert Gates, the new director—the 15th—of the CIA, began with a solemn oath to observe the U.S. Constitution.

R. Gates is no newcomer at the group of buildings nestled in the forest in Langley, the Virginia suburb of Washington. He has spent some 20 years of his career there, and for most of that time he occupied an office on the "bosses'" seventh floor. For several years in between times, he has worked in the White House apparatus—as a staffer of the National Security Council and as deputy assistant to the President for national security affairs.

He is the first analyst staffer of the intelligence service to become its head. Preference had previously been given to "masters" of operational activity or political appointees. He is the first director to be a professional Sovietologist, having studied the state of relations between Moscow and Beijing in his doctoral dissertation.

Gates was confirmed in his new post by a substantial majority in the Senate (64 votes "for," 31 "against"). He was confirmed despite sharp criticism both from his former colleagues and from influential senators. The confirmation process, together with preparatory work, took 135 days, according to one senator's calculations. R. Gates had to answer a total of 861 questions. Of these, 589 were "ticklish" questions such as whether R. Gates was personally informed about the "Irangate" affair, and the politicization of the CIA's analytical and information activity.

The new CIA leader was able, comparatively easily, to dismiss attempts to link his name with "Irangate." Time has erased from his memory the content of a number of conversations. Some of the senators were interested in complaints by staffers from his analysis directorate who have now left the CIA—complaints about pressure from above and a strained atmosphere. In the period of Reagan's administration, when R. Gates was CIA deputy director for information work and then first deputy director, intelligence assessments—the end product of the CIA's work—were not infrequently slanted to suit political ends.

The acronym SOVA, behind which lies the bureau for the analysis of information on the Soviet Union, was mentioned most frequently by the veterans. The greatest pliability was required of it. It was necessary to link the attempted assassination of Pope John Paul II to the Soviet Union—so they compiled an analysis memorandum on the "advantageousness of the removal" for the USSR of the head of the Holy See. With no supporting facts, and even despite skeptical views, including those of Gates himself. In another case, they drew up a document on the USSR's intention to extend its sphere of influence to Iran—despite available information on the comparatively restrained relations between the two countries.

Senator Bill Bradley, an active participant in the hearings in the Senate Intelligence Committee, cited examples of the systematic overstatement of indicators of the USSR's national product in CIA documents, including economic reviews presented to Congress.

The U.S. senator reminded R. Gates about a public statement in which he described "Soviet aspirations" toward the Panama Canal and South Africa's mineral wealth. This was not confirmed.

In confirming R. Gates, they stressed that they respect the U.S. President's choice and expressed the hope that he will draw his conclusions from the criticism and cooperate closely with Congress. R. Gates, for his part, pledged not to put forward subjective assessments in future. He promised greater openness by the CIA. However, Senator H. Metzenbaum's proposal to make public the CIA budget has yet to meet with support. Accordingly, every time the senators touched on the subject in their speeches, they stressed that they are using press estimates—some $30 billion is spent annually on the CIA and military and other intelligence services put together.

Even so, the hearings themselves partially lifted the veil of secrecy over the Langley complex. For instance, one senator mentioned that no more and no less than 2,000 "analysts" work there. The press found out some things during these days. It was reported, for instance, that the CIA employs a total of 20,000 people. Some 10 percent of these are representatives of the American minorities. Some 36 percent of professional posts are held by women.

Admission to employment is very strict. The CIA is one of the few government departments where checks on new personnel include a "lie detector" test. "Sometimes we obtain information that is of interest to the law enforcement organs," Langley's personnel officers boast. Contrary to the widespread impression, cadre turnover is small—this year only 1.7 percent of staffers left the CIA. THE NEW YORK TIMES attributes this to the good conditions at Langley—a well equipped kindergarten, a restaurant catering for special diets, and a health and fitness center.

Nonetheless, the same newspaper reports that Langley is "troubled." Some people have reason to fear retribution because of "leaks" of critical opinions of the new leader. But most of all, they fear cuts.

In his speech to the Senate Intelligence Committee R. Gates stated: "In one historic instant, we have seen the disappearance of the old truths that gave direction to our country's security policy and its intelligence service for 45 years."

Chief among these changes was the end of the cold war, in whose service this, the biggest special service, worked. In future the CIA, in the view of its historian Berton Khersh [name as transliterated], will have to "live without the Red threat."

In an eight-point plan for changes in the CIA's work which he expounded to the Senate committee, R. Gates proposes that the White House, followed by Congress, formulate new tasks for the CIA by the end of the year. The CIA leadership's own views on this matter are known only from fragments that have reached the press. By all appearances, it is proposed to reduce somewhat the expenditure on monitoring Soviet military might, which until recently, according to some reports, had consumed up to 60 percent of the CIA's resources. CIA analysts who have been engaged in assessing Soviet conventional arms will be invited to transfer to the Pentagon.

The interest in the USSR has changed, but not disappeared. This is indicated by the personal speciality of the new intelligence director and the special interest that Washington shows, for instance, in the topic of the center and the republics and the problem of control of nuclear arms in the USSR's territory. The openness of the Soviet Union and the republics has prompted an urgent need for specialists with a knowledge of a wide range of languages and ethnic and other factors.

One of the clearest expressions of the thrust of the CIA's restructuring was expressed by its former director Richard Helms. "The CIA was invented in order to prevent a new Pearl Harbor—a surprise threat from outside, of any kind," R. Helms thinks. "Now, instead of concentrating on the dominant Soviet threat, the American intelligence apparatus has been tasked with what is possibly the even more difficult work of keeping an eye on dozens of troublemakers like Saddam Husayn all over the world."

It is not confined to "troublemakers" in the Third World. According to Dave McCurdy, chairman of the House Intelligence Committee, the intelligence service needs "specialists in economics and technology." In other words, the CIA will apparently have to devote attention to U.S. competitors in world markets and go in for industrial and economic espionage. In short, intelligence work must now be pursued in not just one salient, but all.

The press predicts a restructuring of the CIA's central apparatus and even the dismissal of some specialists who are no longer needed. But cuts abroad are not foreseen. Thus the WALL STREET JOURNAL notes: "Although the American intelligence community is facing the question of its future size and structure, no one seriously thinks that in its new role as the sole world superpower the United States should give up maintaining a large and ramified intelligence system."

"A complex, multipolar peace could require more manpower than the bipolar rivalry of the cold war period," the newspaper notes. "In fact both Gates and the leaders of the Congress committees on intelligence spoke about the need to increase the number of intelligence agents working abroad, so as to monitor political trends."

At the hearings R. Gates did indeed speak of the need to "increase the contribution of the human factor in the intelligence service" and train a corresponding number of specialists with a knowledge of foreign languages. There was also a complaint from a former CIA leader, Admiral R. Inman, about the difficulties of recruitment: "You can't just offer jobs to people who speak Uzbek."

In the current budget year the CIA received special appropriations to finance the study of foreign languages at American universities and to send students abroad. Resources are also allocated for recruiting cadres from among representatives of national minorities—Americans of Latin American extraction and blacks, who can work more effectively in the relevant ethnic milieu. The view has been expressed that, taking into account the training of specialists, years will be spent on restructuring the CIA.

The magazine EBONY, which is popular among black Americans, published in a recent issue an unusual advertising page—an invitation to readers to work for the CIA. These lines are printed in boldface: "Wouldn't you like to know about plans to invade U.S. territory?" Alongside this there is a picture: At the entrance to an urban apartment block, an elderly black woman is watching over some children at play. "Thugs can disrupt the peace of the neighborhood, and you want to foresee this and stop them," the text of the advertisement says. "Likewise the President, in the interests of national security, relies on the country's biggest information network—the CIA. It is our business to know the world's business."

China

Radio Commentator Views Sino-Indian Relations

OW2011023391 Moscow Radio Moscow in Mandarin 1000 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Commentary by station observer Gorkiyev on a visit to China by a delegation of the Indira Faction of the Indian National Congress; from the "Asian Affairs" program]

[Text] A delegation of the Indira Faction of the Indian National Congress [INC] has arrived in Beijing for a visit. Gorkiyev, an observer of this station, has the following commentary on the visit:

(Tehsar), (?official) spokesman of the Indira Faction of the INC, explained the main objectives of the delegation's China visit, saying that the visit is aimed at improving Sino-Indian relations, and that the delegation will exchange views on some regional and international issues with the Chinese. The delegation's agenda is completely in line with the developing cooperation between India and China. By the way, Chinese Premier Li Peng will pay an official visit to India in December. It seems that the two sides need to coordinate their positions before Li Peng begins his India visit.

The increasing contacts at various levels between India and China undoubtedly further enhance mutual understanding and trust between the two countries. The foundation of these increasing contacts was established by the late Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi during his visit to China in 1988. Since then, relations between the two countries have greatly improved, and leaders of the two countries understand each other better. The moderate and measured responses of Indian leaders to the Tiananmen incident have pleased the Chinese Government. [Words indistinct] has nothing to do with the bilateral relations between the two countries. The Indian Government also expressed satisfaction over China's stand on [words indistinct]. China has maintained that the issue should be solved through political dialogue between India and Pakistan, based on the spirit of the [words indistinct] agreement.

Economic and trade relations between India and China also have noticeably improved. The Sino-Indian Economics, Trade, and Technological Cooperation Committee has begun work, and bilateral trade between the two countries has markedly increased. Of course, we cannot say that nothing remains unsolved between the two countries. As a matter of fact, quite a few problems still remain unresolved. A problem that should be addressed first is the territorial issue. The absence of a settlement on this issue has affected the development of political relations between the two countries. Nevertheless, the important thing is that the two sides have reached a common understanding that this issue, as well as others that remain unresolved, should be solved through negotiations, and that these problems should not become obstacles to cooperation between the two countries.

The enhancement of neighborly relations between the two major Asian countries is in line with the current international situation. The characteristics of the current international situation are a lessening of international tensions and enhancement of mutual trust between countries, regardless of their political systems.

At the same time, Sino-Indian relations have also had a strong influence on [words indistinct]. For example, no disputes have occured along the Sino-Indian (?border) during the past three years or so. The two countries have sharply reduced their troops along the disputed middle section of the (?control line) between the two countries. All these developments have caused the international media to pay attention to the continuing dialogue between India and China, especially the current visit to China by a delegation of the Indira Faction of the INC.

Northeast Asia

Shaposhnikov, Japanese Envoy Discuss Relations

LD1911190191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1642 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow, 19 Nov (TASS)—Rejection of the stereotypes of the "cold war" is characteristic of Soviet-Japanese relations at the contemporary stage, Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, USSR minister of defense, and Sumio Edamura, ambassador of Japan to the USSR, stated with satisfaction at a meeting today. In their opinion, this is a guarantee for the future deepening of these relations and for the successful search for mutually acceptable solutions to existing problems for the good of the two peoples and in the interests of peace and security in the Asia-Pacific region and throughout the world.

Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov received Sumio Edamura at the latter's request.

During the conversation, a wide range of issues concerning the development and deepening of Soviet-Japanese relations and the consolidation of mutual understanding and trust in the military sphere were examined. In particular, the problem of the southern islands of the Kurils range was touched upon. Explaining the position of the Ministry of Defense on this issue, the Soviet minister stressed that it consists of support for the plan for resolving this issue put forward by the president of Russia.

Japanese Delegation in Moscow To Discuss Ties

Meets With Rogachev

LD1911183191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1753 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow, 19 Nov (TASS)—Today USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev received Takahiro Yokomichi, governor of the Japanese prefecture of Hokkaido, who is in the Soviet Union on a visit. Topical issues regarding Soviet-Japanese relations as well as ways of further developing bilateral ties were discussed, including cooperation on a regional level between the Far Eastern regions of our country and Hokkaido.

Kuril Islands Considered

OW1911171891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1510 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Tuesday [19 November] in Moscow the first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Sergey Filatov, met with a Japanese delegation headed by governer of the town of Hokkaido, T. Yokomiti.

During the meeting the problem of the "northern territories" or part of the Kuril Islands, was discussed. The Japanese delegation insisted that the problem should be decided according to international law. "We should create a situation in which Russian President Yeltsin could show more decisiveness in settling this issue," Mr. Yokomiti said.

Sergey Filatov agreed with this, and said that such a difficulty exists, "and everybody knows it." In his words, however, it would be easier to decide any problems "if we had started cooperating earlier and were in agreement on all further questions."

Filatov has suggested a particular step towards establishing better relations. He supports the creation of an inter-parliament. This would be a Russian-Japanese inter-parliamentary assembly to conduct joint hearings on questions concerning the Kuril Islands.

Japanese VIPs Welcome Shevardnadze 'Comeback'

LD2011073491 Moscow TASS in English 0722 GMT 20 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kopnov]

[Text] Tokyo November 20 TASS—Japan today welcomed the appointment of Eduard Shevardnadze as the Soviet minister for external relations. Koichi Kato, chief cabinet secretary, told a news conference that "Shevardnadze has always been an active advocate of the new-thinking policy. Therefore we welcome his comeback to the ministerial post."

Japanese Foreign Minister Michio Watanabe has also made a special statement in this connection. Eduard Shevardnadze, he said, has a very high reputation in the international arena as one of major democratic leaders in the Soviet Union. He succeeded in achieving really great results in the pursuance of the new-thinking policy.

Japan expects that Shevardnadze will actively further the political line which he pursued before his resignation in December last year and that Japanese-Soviet relations will receive further development, Watanabe said.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Sihanouk Call For Trial of Khmer Rouge Viewed

BK2011091791 Moscow Radio Moscow in Cambodian 1100 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Oleg Alekseyev commentary]

[Text] Addressing a meeting in Phnom Penh attended by a large number of people a few days ago, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk called for an international tribunal to try Pol Pot and other Khmer Rouge leaders. The prince said these persons cannot be pardoned for their crimes against the Cambodian people.

Our observer Oleg Alekseyev has the following comments about Samdech Norodom Sihanouk's statement.

The past crimes of Pol Pot and his men were termed by former U.S. President Jimmy Carter as being one of the most barbarous crimes in the history of mankind. This assumption is not at all exaggerated. Listeners should judge for yourselves.

During the second half of the 1970's when these murderous ringleaders were in power under the guise of fighting against the so-called bourgeoisie, over 3 million people were killed in Cambodia. The victims of these terroristic acts of the Pol Pot clique of that shocking era included the family of Samdech Sihanouk. At the personal order of Pol Pot, many of the samdech's off-spring were killed by these murderers.

Moscow radio observer Oleg Alekseyev added that the fact that Samdech Sihanouk has now personally appealed for an international tribunal to try these criminals is especially significant. This is because Samdech Sihanouk is currently not only a famous politician with international prestige, but on 14 November, after a 13-year absence, he has returned to Phnom Penh as chairman of Cambodia's Supreme National Council [SNC]. The SNC, together with the UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia, will rule the country until the general elections are held. Is it necessary to say that this has given his statement a special emphasis?

It should be noted that the idea of setting up an international tribunal has already been widely welcomed. All I need to do is cite President George Bush's statement after the agreement on Cambodia was signed in Paris. Mr. Bush stressed, among other things: If the people in Phnom Penh think that Pol Pot and other Khmer Rouge leaders should be put on trial by an international tribunal, the United States will support such an idea.

Therefore, the question is: Does this personal appeal by SNC Chairman Samdech Sihanouk mean that he wants to remove from the Khmer Rouge their right to continue being a party to the Cambodian solution?

In my opinion, there is no reason to jump to such a conclusion. The essence of the problem lies in the judgment of anyone of the ringleaders who are directly responsible for the genocide during the second half of the 1970's. As far as the Khmer Rouge are concerned, in their capacity as a political organization, their participation in the solution as well as the general elections that would ultimately lead, depending on their results, toward the formation of a Cambodian government is clearly stipulated by the Paris agreement. Anything beyond this would not be acceptable as the Khmer Rouge faction is now undeniably a political force in Cambodia. One cannot pretend not to see something that exists.

Samdech Sihanouk's statement will visibly create dire complications in his relations with the Khmer Rouge leaders who will take part in the work of the SNC. How will these people react? The answer to this question, apparently, will be seen in the not too distant future.

Australian Foreign Minister's Tour Reported

PM1811111391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Nov 91 Union Edition p 1

[Unattributed report from IZVESTIYA, TASS, RIA, INTERFAX roundup]

[Text] Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans has arrived in Vladivostok.

This was the second stop—after Khabarovsk—on his lengthy tour of the USSR. The tour is aimed at establishing contacts with the sovereign republic governments and the leaders of a number of Russian regions.

Near East & South Asia

Ministry Criticizes Golan Heights Decision

PM1911152091 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Nov 91 Union Edition p 6

[Unattributed report on statement by Ministry of External Relations: "Moscow Critical of Israeli Parliament's Decision"]

[Text] The following statement has been issued by the Union Ministry of External Relations:

"The decision adopted by the Israeli parliament in which the Syrian Golan Heights, occupied in 1967, are regarded as Israeli territory, was received with perplexity in Moscow. This step, taken against the background of the peace process that has begun in Madrid between the Arabs and Israel, does not accord with the eventual goal of that process and the establishment of normal relations between the region's countries.

"If the significance of this decision is that the return of the Golan Heights to Syria cannot be a subject of discussion, then questions inevitably arise—in that case, what is it proposed to put on the agenda for the forthcoming talks with Syria, and how is this action compatible with Israel's continual declarations of commitment to confidence-building measures in the Near East?"

'Concern' Over Israeli Claim

OW1911165891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1449 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Report by Mikhail Mayorov and Igor Porshnev from "Diplomatic Panorama"; following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The USSR Foreign Ministry's statement in connection with the decision of the Israeli parliament that proclaims the Golan Heights Israel wrested from Syria in 1967 an Israeli territory reflects serious concern on part of the Soviet political circles, said a senior USSR Foreign Ministry official. He told DP [Diplomatic Panorama] that the Foreign Ministry's statement is well-balanced and reflects the reality.

According to the diplomat, the parliament's decision is not conducive to the creation of a favourable atmosphere for the Arab- Israeli dialogue that started in Madrid. Nor does it encourage Syria's interest in the process of talks because Damask's [Damascus'] chief objective is to retrieve the Israeli-occupied Golan Heights. According to the diplomat, the statement of the Israeli Housing Construction Minister Sharon that further construction of Israeli settlement on the occupied Arab territory could be frozen because of a shortage of funds holds little promise. The Soviet diplomat believes that the issue must first of all be resolved on a political plane. "We believe that peace would gain the most if the construction of Israeli settlements on the Arab lands be frozen," emphasized he.

The diplomat believes that there is no good reason to view Mr. Sharon's statement as a "trial balloon" that would procede the Israeli Government's political decision on freezing the building of the settlements. "This would be to good to be true," as an English saying would have it, said the diplomat. But in his opinion, such a gesture on part of Israel would be appreciated both by the Arab partners in the peace process and by the co-chairmen, the USSR and the USA.

Further Reportage on Mujahidin Talks

Belonogov Comments

PM1911114591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Nov 91 Union Edition p 7

[A. Ivanko report: "Talks With Mujahidin"]

[Text] Talks continued behind closed doors 13 and 14 November between the mujahidin delegation in the Soviet Union and Soviet experts. A new round was held 15 November. We were told by A. Belonogov, USSR deputy foreign minister, that the Soviet delegation is satisfied with the way the talks are going and that a specific and open discussion is being held on questions of interest to the participants. As A. Belonogov put it, the sides' positions are still quite far apart—there are issues on which our country cannot meet the Afghan opposition halfway.

First and foremost this applies to the mujahidin attempts to win the Soviet Union's agreement to recognize that the Kabul government "represents nobody" and that power should be transferred to the Peshawar "seven." The Soviet side advocates extensive representation for the various positions in an intra-Afghan settlement and proceeds on the basis of the well known Soviet-U.S. statement on this issue, A. Belonogov believes.

There is also a certain amount of disappointment about the Afghan side's reluctance to conduct specific talks on Soviet POW's. Judging by everything, the delegation's mandate is rather limited. Through TASS channels IZVESTIYA has received information that any agreements which could be reached between the mujahidin delegation and Soviet officials on releasing POW's will not be considered valid by the opposition "fundamentalist" groupings, which are boycotting the Moscow talks.

Talking about the Moscow talks, A. Belonogov noted that we had expected more, although there is no sense of acute dissatisfaction. This is a start. The Soviet Union advocates continuing the dialogue and has proposed setting up a mechanism for contacts. It is not yet clear what form it will take. It is possible, as IZVESTIYA has stated, that our side will appoint a representative to maintain these contacts, or that a joint commission might be set up. It is not being ruled out that, following the talks, the delegations will simply decide to go their separate ways [razyekhatsya].

As for the elaboration of a joint statement, the mujahidin are aware of the Soviet proposals. However, on certain key points the sides' positions are rather far removed from each other. Both delegations can also sum up the results of the talks separately.

The editorial office has learned that I. Andronov, member of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Committee for International Affairs and Foreign Economic Ties, who has been participating in the talks with the mujahidin, has been keeping somewhat "aloof," sometimes attempting to counterpose the Russian and Union positions. He remained with the Afghan delegation on the evening of 14 November at its request in order to continue the talks. The Russian and Union Foreign Ministries have assured us that a unified line was worked out for the talks and that representatives of both ministries prepared for them together.

The meeting planned for 13 November between the Afghan delegation and Russian Vice President A. Rutskoy has not yet been held since there have been no results to justify such a step. The date of the delegation's departure from the USSR is not clear either, although its aircraft have arrived.

Advisers, Missile Crews To Leave

PM1911164991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Nov 91 Union Edition p 1

[Untitled report from IZVESTIYA, TASS, RIA, INTERFAX column]

[Text] Soviet military personnel will be withdrawn from Afghanistan forthwith.

By order of USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev, advisers to the Ministries of Defense, Internal Affairs, and State Security are to be recalled. The reduction also applies to specialists servicing the Scud and Luna missile launchers used to attack territory controlled by the mujahidin.

Joint Statement Summarized

PM2011095591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Nov 91 Union Edition pp 1,3

[A. Ivanko report: "Talks With Mujahidin Have Ended Successfully"]

[Text] The four days of talks with a delegation from the Afghan opposition ended on 15 November. A joint statement on their results was adopted. The sides reaffirmed their condemnation of the anticonstitutional decision on introducing Soviet troops into Afghanistan and the Soviet Union's participation in a war "that brought incalculable suffering to the Afghan people."

Accord was reached on the need to transfer power to a Muslim transitional government. The diplomats with whom your IZVESTIYA correspondent talked in the USSR Foreign Ministry and the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Foreign Ministry stressed in particular that this is a question of a transitional government which may emerge on the basis of the UN secretary general's plan for Afghanistan.

The mujahidin delegation announced its readiness to hold elections in the country with the assistance of the Islamic Conference Organization and the United Nations within two years of the transfer of power to the transitional government.

The statement also says that decisions on Soviet-Afghan treaties concluded since 1978 will be adopted by the transitional government.

The sides agreed to do all they can to release prisoners of war. The mujahidin pledged to release the first group by 1 January 1992. Our country confirmed its intention to end deliveries of arms and of fuel for weaponry to Kabul by 1 January.

The Soviet Union pledged to radically reduce and then completely recall from Afghanistan the military personnel there. The USSR will also "be sure to take part" in the restoring the ravages of war. A joint commission will be formed for the implementation of joint agreements.

The statement is quite a sensational document. As G. Kunadze, Russian deputy foreign minister, said in conversation with your IZVESTIYA correspondent, he had not dismissed the possibility that it would not have been feasible to conclude any agreements at all during the talks. The fact that they went on for so long (at first it was intended that the work be concluded on 13 November) is confirmation of this. According to G. Kunadze, this result in the first talks can be considered successful. Regardless of all the complexities, it proved possible to agree a common document.

As for the joint commission, it will include representatives of the foreign ministries of certain sovereign republics. It will be created within a month and may be based in Peshawar, but for this to happen the issue must also be studied with Pakistan.

Concerning the mandate of the Afghan delegation, it was understood that the people who came to Moscow do not represent all the mujahidin groups. G. Kunadze reported that a delegation will be sent to Peshawar with the specific aim of meeting with the people who were not at the talks.

According to G. Kunadze, we will not increase the deliveries of Soviet weapons to Kabul in the remaining six weeks, and we will not reexamine the list of armaments.

On the evening of 15 November Russian Vice President A. Rutskoy again received the delegation from the Afghan opposition.

'Small Step' on 'Difficult Road'

PM2011092191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Nov 91 Union Edition p 10

["Editorial Viewpoint" article: "Road from Peshawar to Moscow Not Yet Traveled"]

[Text] We have stopped being surprised by sensations, but nonetheless the visit to the USSR by an Afghan mujahidin delegation is an extraordinary event by any standards. The mujahidin, who have been wearing their traditional clothes which are so familiar from the mug shots of past years, are this time not carrying assault rifles but sitting down at the same table as officials from our country...

The very fact that talks are being held with people whom we are accustomed to call nothing other than the "hardline opposition" can only be welcomed. The leaders of both Russia and the Union have finally managed to look at the Afghan conflict "from the other side." In these circumstances, as is well known, many stereotypes which prevent people from seeing clearly can be broken down unusually easily. Incidentally, even prior to this it was already clear that the Kabul regime by no means represented all Afghans and existed to a considerable extent thanks to outside interference—that is, our interference.

But the talks with the mujahidin have shown that they themselves by no means represent all of Afghanistan. If Najibollah is not the truth, neither is the Peshawar opposition. Most probably, the solution to the problems of Afghanistan lies in the same area, the only area which will "work" under such circumstances—the hard quest for a compromise settlement.

There is another point which the talks with the mujahidin have made us consider. Despite all our country's obvious and newly apparent weaknesses, and whatever it is called—be it Russia, the Union, or something else—we should not lose our respect for it or allow others to do so. Whatever happens, we will still be a great power. And not only because of our nuclear arsenals, but also if only because of our huge geographic area and potential wealth, and—above all—because of the role which our destiny exerts, one way or another, on the destiny of the world. A great power should conduct itself accordingly, without dodging its inevitable responsibilities. And we have a particular responsibility to Afghanistan: After all, we have an unpaid debt to that country's people. But, and the Moscow talks reaffirmed this, the debt should not be paid by simply "switching sides" [pereklyucheniye polyusov].

It transpires that the delegation which has come to Moscow by no means enjoys the unconditional support of all the other Peshawar mujahidin, not to mention those based in Iran. So there are no grounds for euphoria. This also applies, incidentally, to the fate of our POW's, about whom the guests could give us no reassuring news.

Nonetheless, it is undoubtedly a good thing that the road from Peshawar to Moscow has been opened, only it is important that we not forget that we are talking merely about the first small step along what will clearly be a difficult road.

Kabul's View of Trip Assessed

PM1911160791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Nov 91 p 4

[Report by special correspondent V. Pritula and IAN correspondent A. Pravov: "Moving Toward Concord Without Ultimatums. Kabul: View of Mujahidin Moscow Meetings"]

[Text] Kabul—Things are quiet in the Afghan capital now. However, this calm is relative. At night the sound of a distant artillery cannonade reaches the city. Patrols appear at intersections in the evening. Soldiers of the national guard stop vehicles, make the drivers open up the trunk, and carefully inspect the passenger compartment. The authorities fear sabotage, and not without reason. Radio and television constantly report instances of the discovery of explosives and weapons intended for acts of terrorism against the population.

Power outages are being experienced in the city increasingly frequently. This is primarily because of sabotage by armed opposition detachments in the region of power stations. Electricity pylons are blown up. A few days ago the mujahidin bombarded the Daruntah Hydroelectric Power Station near Jalalabad with rockets. Since it is connected by a single power circuit with Naghlu, from where electricity is mainly supplied to the capital, that act could not fail to affect life in Kabul too.

The power famine causes the greatest distress to those Afghans who speak Russian and who are accustomed to watching Moscow television programs. Incidentally, in recent days people in Kabul have been following very attentively the progress of the mujahidin delegation's trip to Moscow.

The dialogue between the Union and republic leaders and the Afghan mujahidin is being discussed everywhere here. The majority of people prefer to make an assessment of it that is close to the one made by President Najibollah: "We must welcome any initiatives if they are aimed at an Afghan settlement." And the path to such a settlement lies by way of reaching an accord on a cease-fire and the holding of elections.

This is the only way that many Afghans can imagine the country's future—without any extremism at all, without laying down prior conditions. The majority of the country's citizens are perfectly well aware that extremism can only prolong the war in the country and deepen the crisis still further. Therefore people here perceived with definite alarm the tone of certain newspaper articles and television programs which highlighted the mujahidin demand for the removal of the Kabul regime from power.

Of course, the Afghans know better than many others the true state of affairs and understand that Najibollah's immediate resignation could result in unpredictable chaos. Incidentally, this is the reckoning not only of the 2 million people who have directly linked their fate with the Kabul regime. As for the claim of certain groupings to appear totally unimplicated in the Afghan tragedy of many years' standing, people here rightly believe: A force which has in no way besmirched itself in the past and which at the same time possesses real military "muscle" can hardly appear on the political scene in the foreseeable future.

The main forces opposing one another at the forefront of the political scene here are the Kabul regime and the Islamic Party of Afghanistan headed by Hekmatyar. It is this extremist grouping that heads the so-called "Peshawar Alliance of Seven." While this includes other parties, they wield considerably less influence in Afghanistan.

In other words, if we even imagine that Najibollah will voluntarily renounce power and that his regime will collapse, then the resulting vacuum will inevitably be filled only by Hekmatyar. There is no point in laboring under a delusion and dreaming of some democratic government in Kabul in the event of Najibollah's departure.

Extremists are capable of flooding the country with blood. And this naturally concerns and frightens the Afghans far more than the extent to which the CPSU and the KGB were privy to the formation of the Kabul regime.

"The present democratic leaders in Moscow probably simply are not familiar with Afghan realities," many of our interlocutors have said in recent days. "Otherwise they would hardly be campaigning for Najibollah's departure..."

It is up to the Afghans themselves to decide whether or not the present regime should be in power in Kabul. The Kabul government has clearly demonstrated its viability and has now been existing for almost three years without support from the Soviet 40th Army.

One of the authors of these lines well remembers the spring of 1989 in Afghanistan. These were the first months after the Soviet troops had left the country. The numerous Western correspondents who had gathered in Kabul's Intercontinental Hotel at that time were making bets. How much longer would the Najibollah regime hold out, and when would the storming of Kabul take place? Their certainty as to the government's inevitable collapse was primarily founded on the long-standing propaganda cliche created by the mujahidin: "Without Russian bayonets the regime in Kabul will fall at once."

To all appearances, the situation is now being repeated. Was it not this that made the leaders of the most extremist mujahidin groupings refuse the trip to Moscow? Not that those who doubt an imminent victory are in any hurry to get to the negotiating table either. Ahmad Shah Mas'ud, the best known field commander in the north of Afghanistan, declared the following with regard to the mujahidin trip: "The war will continue for a long time, and it is necessary to step up military pressure on Kabul, because there is clearly insufficient pressure at present."

At the same time it is being maintained in Peshawar that Rabbani presented ultimatums in Moscow that were dictated directly by Hekmatyar. But, as is well known, you cannot pave the road to peace with ultimatums. If you act in this way, it will hardly be possible to end the protracted fratricidal war. Of course, Kabul was prepared to welcome the mujahidin trip to Moscow if it really had been the first step toward peace. But, to all appearances, the Afghans will not receive the longed-for news from Moscow. The propaganda idea of the Moscow meetings on the part of the mujahidin and their desire to show their supporters that they are capable of talking as victors with the Soviet side are too prominently at the forefront.

And yet, as many people in Kabul believe, it is very important that the mujahidin traveled to Moscow. First, the two sides have gotten to know each other better and now have a clear picture of the people with whom they are dealing, without any underestimations or illusions. And, second, the meetings in Moscow have once again drawn world public attention to the "forgotten" Afghan war. And when people "remember" about wars, the chance of ending them arises...

Bovin Views Madrid Talks, Soviet Role

PM1911173591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Nov 91 Union Edition p 8

[IZVESTIYA Political Observer A. Bovin article: "Madrid: Three-Day 'Wonder.' What Next?"]

[Text] The plenary session of the Madrid conference on a Near East settlement began Wednesday 30 October and ended Friday morning, 1 November. In not quite three days, thousands of articles were written, hundreds of television reports relayed, and dozens of political statements made—intelligent and not so intelligent, almost optimistic, skeptical, profound, superficial, scathing, and abusive. It is hard to divide them into right and wrong. The paradox is that they are all (or virtually all) right, they all reflect some fragment, some nuance of the extremely complex reality that we call the "Near East conflict."

Indeed, whatever contentious issue we take, each side can cite fairly convincing arguments in defense of its position. Therefore logic and logic alone (historical, military-strategic, and political logic) does not work here. The will for a sensible balance of interests, for a mutually advantageous compromise, and for stable security must take priority over and be stronger than logic. That is always hard. It is all the harder when decades of hatred, mistrust, enmity, and fighting transform the initial logical material into ossified, fossilized structures bereft of inner life.

That is why it took so much effort, so many negotiations and exhortations, so much hassle just to persuade Arabs and Jews to meet in the same place, sit down at the same table, and start to talk. That is why every day of the Madrid conference was truly a miracle, since everything hung by a thread, since an unfortunate word, a misunderstood phrase, or a contentious running order for the speeches might have upset the unstable equilibrium on any day and wrecked the conference.

That did not happen. And although the speakers were not always able to refrain from empty rhetoric and resist the temptation to play to the gallery, there was no explosion. It was, I repeat, a miracle. The ministers spent three days hearing one another out. That was the first stage of the conference. The second was bilateral talks between Israel and its neighbors in Madrid. Israel was insisting that the substantive talks (the third stage) be moved somewhere closer to the Near East and that only procedural questions be settled here in the Spanish capital: setting up bilateral committees and agreeing on where and when they will start work.

On Saturday, 2 November, everyone was playing guessing games: Will they be up to bilateral meetings?

They were. On Sunday morning, 3 November, talks between Israel and the Jordanian-Palestinian delegation began. They went calmly and ended with the adoption of a general statement.

Syria and Lebanon at first refused to take part in bilateral talks. Syria did so because it wanted to get down to the nitty-gritty here in Madrid and not confine itself to procedural matters. Lebanon did so because Israel has not stopped bombing Southern Lebanon. Baker had to get to work again. And the meetings went ahead.

Formally the result is negative. Committees were not set up. No agreement was reached on either the time or the place for future meetings. But they went away without slamming doors and smashing crockery. And that is almost a miracle.

What next? I am afraid that if we let things drift, everything will vanish into the sand. After all, there is enough of it in the Near East. If we are expecting another miracle, a switch to regular bilateral contacts, obviously we cannot do without a "miracle worker." And in this case that is J. Baker. I can imagine what he will write in his memoirs about some of his interlocutors. But memoirs are for later and interlocutors, those same interlocutors, are waiting now...

I am convinced that our minister—B.D. Pankin—should also step up his activity. For understandable reasons beyond his control he will not gain the status of a "miracle worker." But that should not annoy anyone. Because today totally different miracles are required of us and our leadership, including the foreign policy leadership.

Here we come to a now fashionable topic which was also loudly aired in connection with Near East problems and the Madrid conference. I am referring to our country's authority, influence, and prestige and, in particular, those of our president. Here, for instance, is how this subject is tackled by ABC correspondent J. Laurie. "Despite President Bush's warm political embraces," Laurie said, "President Gorbachev is a lame-duck [nepolnotsennyy] politician who is increasingly relegated to a back seat. At home he is the president of a bankrupt and disintegrating state. In Madrid he offered his good offices in advancing the process of a peace settlement. However, the Soviet Union's influence in the Near East has drastically decreased. It no longer has the funds to finance Arab states such as Syria. Although Moscow is acting as the equal organizer of this conference, all the costs of holding it have been taken on by the United States. The status granted to Gorbachev in Madrid," Laurie thinks, "is to some extent a reward from President Bush for Soviet support for the United States during the conflict with Iraq 18 months ago." You can make no demands on Laurie, so to speak. But I am distressed when Soviet journalists with uncommon thoughtlessness and not without some malice, write our country out of world politics, organize a first-class verbose funeral for it, and try somehow to direct more offensive, painful gibes at the president.

I am by no means against criticism of the president. He often deserves it. But I am against to this arrogant overfamiliarity. Gorbachev is a tragic figure. Remember? The road to hell is paved with good intentions. He paved his own way. But he is undoubtedly a great figure, one of the great political figures of the 20th century. He destroyed the jail, the barracks in which we had been living for decades. If he is measured on a historical scale, Gorbachev is undoubtedly a more outstanding figure than, say, Bush or Mitterrand. Like Peter I, he pulled Russia up by its bootstraps. But unlike Peter he was not able to control the reins. And that is not so much his fault as his misfortune and destiny. History needed him to destroy the old system and remove the fetters from Russia. Future generations will create a new Russia. Critical attacks on Gorbachev that fail to take this historical background into consideration ("mentally" of course) will always be shallow, petty, and superficial.

As for the fundamental changes in Soviet foreign policy—its deideologization, the renunciation of the stress on military force, the course of "peacemaking" with the United States, the "releasing" of the East European countries, and the orientation toward real state interests—all that began long before the "parade of sovereignties." We ceased to perform the functions of a "superpower," stopped strutting about and standing on tiptoe, and began to reduce our presence on the world arena, not because we had become weaker, but because we had become more intelligent.

Chaos in the country, the disintegration of the Union, and the interweaving of the economic, social, and political crises do nothing to increase our strength, influence, and prestige and nullify our financial potential. We are absorbed in our domestic problems. But let us be frank. If we were considered a "superpower" and if we had "influence" and "prestige," they were based not on our economic successes, not on material abundance, not on our scientific and technical achievements, and not on our gold reserves. They were based on our nuclear missile potential, on Soviet-U.S. military-strategic parity. So what has changed? Precisely nothing. The fact that strategic bases are scattered around four sovereign states also changes nothing. Since the control system remains as it was. In that respect our country is still a "superpower," the same "Upper Volta with missiles" that it used to be. You can think whatever you like about this. But funeral marches and funeral orations are clearly premature.

It is clearly premature to accuse Gorbachev of pandering to the Americans. After we put an end to the "cold war" and stopped regarding the United States as an enemy, a foe, and an adversary, it became clear that our state interests coincide quite often with U.S. interests. That happened during the Kuwaiti crisis, "Desert Storm." That is also the case in the Near East.

Both we and the Americans want to eliminate this source of instability. Both we and the Americans want the settlement to be comprehensive and fair, taking into consideration the interests of both Jews and Arabs. Both we and the Americans recognize Israel's right to a secure existence and are ready to guarantee that existence. Certainly, the Americans act more assertively and decisively than we do. Because they are economically stronger and their hands are untied. Things are far harder for us. But abandoning our almost 100-percent support for the Arabs, restoring diplomatic relations with Israel, and coordinating actions with the United

States are by no means signs of weakness, but a desire to pursue a better considered, fairer policy. Some temporary cooling of relations with some Arabs is inevitable. But that phase will pass and by and large the evening out of our Near East policy will increase our prestige and influence in the region.

...If the 1973 Geneva conference was the first step toward peace in the Near East and the Camp David Treaty of 1979 can be seen as the second, far more important step on this road, the Madrid conference can be ranked with them, too. Although no one knows how many steps—successful and unsuccessful—lie ahead... Probably a lot. At any rate Moscow's diplomatic service will try to make this road as straight and short as possible.

Diplomat Expresses Optimism

OW1811181791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1651 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Report by M. Mayorov and I. Porshnev from "Diplomatic Panorama"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Soviet Union and the United States are waiting with optimism for the continuation of bilateral talks between Israel and its Arab neighbors and the further multi-sided talks on regional issues. A high-level Soviet diplomat who was among the Soviet delegation to the Middle East peace conference in Madrid gave an interview to "DP" [Diplomatic Panorama]. He explained that the goal of bilateral talks was the signing of a peace treaty, the settlement of territorial disputes, and the Palestinian problem. Questions of arms control, water rights, the environment and refugee problems are topics for multi-sided discussion.

In the words of the diplomat, both the Soviets and the Americans feel it necessary to let the Arabs and Israelis agree upon a place for further talks themselves. If this does not happen, then the co-chairmen will come up with their own suggestions. One of the location options is Washington.

Another possible location for the continuation of bilateral talks is Moscow. In the diplomat's words, this possibility was raised in Madrid. The diplomat feels that this would be entirely logical, since it would reflect the Soviet Union's role as one of the co-chairmen of the Mideast peace conference.

In the diplomat's words, the Soviet Union's participation in Middle Eastern settlement is entirely in its own national interests. In this case, in his opinion, Soviet national interests coincide with U.S. national interests, and have brought about immediate involvement in the conflict.

In the diplomat's opinion, the discussion process could continue for three years before concrete results were seen. "I believe in the strength of the discussion process," he emphasized. Talks have their own inner dynamics and logic. They allow the sides to ultimately find "solutions in form as well as content" which have not yet been proposed. This is said with regard to the Jerusalem problem and the problem of Israeli inhabitants on occupied Arab territory, and many other problems. These issues cannot be decided without discussion.

The diplomat feels that the development of Soviet-Israeli relations will contribute to the continuation of the peace process in the Middle East. He noted that the very establishment of Soviet-Israeli diplomatic relations significantly secured the agreement from the Israeli Government to go to the conference. The diplomat characterized Soviet policy in the Middle East in these words, "We would like to make new friends, not lose old ones."

In the diplomat's opinion, the beginning of the peace process should work to ripen Israeli opinion of a new concept of peace with the Arabs. In other words, the peace process should be a relief to a number of Israelis who understand the importance and desire to keep peace with the Arabs. The peace process, the diplomat thinks, should end extremism on both sides and make it unnecessary.

PRAVDA Interviews Libya's al-Qadhdhafi

PM1711191591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Nov 91 p 5

["PRAVDA Interview" with Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi by special correspondent Yevgeniy Shashkov, datelined Tripoli, November: "M. al-Qadhdhafi: The Whole World Has Suffered as a Result of the USSR's Disintegration"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the Libyan revolution, has given an exclusive interview to our special correspondent Yevgeniy Shashkov. It is well known that the Libyan leadership holds a special position on many international problems, and primarily on questions concerning the Near East settlement. Perceiving the Libyan factor as an objective reality, we deem it necessary to acquaint our readers with M. al-Qadhdhafi's views without any cuts or editing.

[Shashkov] Colonel, you have been the leader of the Libyan revolution for 22 years now. What characterizes life in present-day Libya, in your view?

[al-Qadhdhafi] The change of regime in Libya has affected many regimes in the world. The world's first-ever genuinely new regime was established in our country—a Jamahiriyah, a state which is run by the people. The Soviet Union was also on the way to creating its own Jamahiriyah. But, unfortunately, it did not succeed. What characterizes life in Libya today? Above all the fact that the people themselves run all aspects of Libya's life.

[Shashkov] What is Libya's position as regards the conference on the Near East, and how do you assess its work?

[al-Qadhdhafi] In my opinion, the conference has failed. Various viewpoints were expressed at the conference, but no solutions to the problems have been found. Israel is seeking recognition by the Arabs, but it is offering nothing in return. This is impossible. Israel is incapable of living without wars. Peace will mean its end.

The Arabs have done everything in their power: They have recognized the state of Israel, they have agreed to secure borders for Israel, those which existed prior to June 1967. But Israel has turned this down. The Israelis demand recognition without wanting to give anything in return. Unfortunately, this is precisely why the conference has failed. I believe that the Americans foresaw this outcome. Nonetheless, Washington embarked on organizing this conference, knowing in advance that the result will be a sorry one. The United States views this conference from its own perspective. The election campaign has already started there. Therefore, the very fact of convening this conference was important for Bush and Baker. It is possible that Baker is a more serious person. For Bush, in order to be reelected as President, it was important to gather the Arabs and the Israelis around one table. And if this conference yields any results, they will be used primarily by Baker for his propaganda campaign.

[Shashkov] Voices have rung out from various countries in the Near East region, demanding resolute and concerted actions in the Near East. What is your assessment of these calls?

[al-Qadhdhafi] For the time being this is only a propaganda campaign in the news media. It will not produce practical results. The struggle for Arab rights is much more serious and goes much deeper. Before ridding occupied Palestine of the Zionists, it is necessary to decide what is to be done with them.

[Shashkov] Can you picture the Near East in a state of peace?

[al-Qadhdhafi] Peace is impossible.

[Shashkov] How do you assess the Near East policy of the USSR, the United States, West Europe, and China?

[al-Qadhdhafi] The Soviet Union can be discussed only in the past tense. This is a great loss. The United States is trying to extend its influence over the whole world. A number of West European countries which were formerly afraid of the Soviet Union, are now worried about the possibility of the emergence of a united strong Germany. Britain and Italy fear the emergence of a Fourth Reich. And it is in the making. And this is something to be afraid of. I believe that in the future a conflict is possible between Germany and France, but not likely with the cowardly Italy and Great Britain. The question of Alsace-Lorraine will arise again. In order to avoid this, we have proposed that a Jewish state be created in that area (between Germany and France). As for China, we would like it to assume a position similar to that occupied by the USSR in the Near East in the past. At present a Chinese presence is not felt in the Mediterranean. However, we are hoping that the representatives of the yellow race will appear in our region and unite with the Arabs. Envisaging this threat, West Europe is constantly begging the United States for assistance. China, Japan, and Korea may establish a very powerful military-economic and political alliance along NATO lines.

Some former republics of the Soviet Union will gravitate toward these two poles. To the pole of the yellow race, or the pole of the white, European race.

[Shashkov] Is Arab unity realistic today?

[al-Qadhdhafi] Unity is essential.

[Shashkov] The West has often criticized Libya for an intransigent attitude toward Israel. If this is so, what is the explanation for this attitude?

[al-Qadhdhafi] At one time Britain occupied Palestine. Then it was decided to establish two states there. Palestinian land is actually Arab land. How can you set up a Jewish state there? The Arabs have been simply deprived of their land.

[Shashkov] Soviet-Libyan relations must be stable—this is in everyone's interest. In connection with our economic difficulties, PRAVDA readers are asking questions about Libya's debt to our country. As far as I know, your country is paying this debt back punctually. It would be good to hear your opinion on this question as the country's leader.

[al-Qadhdhafi] We are paying back our debt to the Soviet Union regularly, as agreed. But now another problem has arisen. To whom in the USSR should we be paying back our debt? To the Ukraine, Russia, Georgia, or the Baltic Republics, since all the republics took part in producing the weapons which we bought? We have already received protests. The Ukraine has said: "Why are you paying Russia?" And the Baltic Republics are saying the same. Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia have the same claims. For the time being, such questions have been raised unofficially.

[Shashkov] Reports to the effect that Colonel al-Qadhdhafi backed those who came out against President Gorbachev in August have been glimpsed in the foreign and even in the Soviet press. A cable to this effect was dispatched to Moscow. Could you explain you position?

[al-Qadhdhafi] First of all it is necessary to reproduce the text of the cable sent to Moscow 19 August. It read: "We are glad to congratulate you on your bold, historic deed, which, we hope, will extricate the USSR from the lethal crisis into which it has been thrust as a result of a large-scale imperialist plot directed not only against the USSR, but also against all the peoples of the world.

"We support your action with utmost resolve, because a united Soviet Union, as the second world power, is vitally necessary for the cause of peace throughout the world which is under a constant threat as a result of the fact that at present one barbaric force is at play.

"Forces hostile to freedom, peace, and progress can be contained only by force since they do not recognize moral or ethical values. And the USSR is historically a factor of containment as regards colonialism and imperialism.

"Your great deed has the backing of all the peoples of the Third World, who are, against their will, subjected to violence and alienation as a result of imperialism's malicious schemes. This deed is very important for the revival of the USSR's international prestige and the Soviet citizens' dignity, which the imperialists wanted to trample in the mud, and also for the restoration of the unity which is so essential for the peoples and the territories of the USSR.

"We confirm the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah's commitment to its firm and historical friendship with the Soviet Union, which we will not renounce under any circumstances. Libya, promoting the cause of peace, socialism, the freedom of all peoples, and the unity of the nation, has always adhered to its immutable position and its principles as distinct from the wavering, the weak, and the greedy.

"We confirm that we support you and are on your side. Long live revolutionary struggle in the name of freedom, socialism, and peace."

When I sent this cable, I was thinking of the interests of the Soviet Union and Libya. I believed that the coup had been organized by Gorbachev himself because the people who made up the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency] were close to him, and he himself had chosen them. They were his closest people. They were running his regime. Many people believed that while Gorbachev was in the Crimea, these men were carrying out his will, that the SCSE was supposed to help Gorbachev extricate himself from the difficult situation in which he found himself.

As for the Arabs, they still need a strong Soviet Union. I believe that the text of my cable would also be backed by all Soviet people. It does not mention Gorbachev. If World War III had broken out, the West would not have been able to dictate its will to the Soviet Union as it is doing today. If a nuclear war had broken out, if millions of people had perished and Moscow had been subjected to aggression, even then the West would not have been able to dictate its conditions; but its demands have essentially been met: The Soviet Union, the Warsaw Pact, and communism have been crushed, and Soviet troops have been withdrawn from East Europe. And the West has achieved all this without resorting to war.

[Shashkov] Do many people in the Arab world share your view?

[al-Qadhdhafi] This viewpoint is shared not only by Arabs but also by people living in Third World countries. Even West Europe has lost a great deal as a result of the collapse of the Soviet Union. They are threatened with U.S. expansion. And how much have Soviet people lost? Their life is painted with gloomy colors—unemployment, inflation, corruption, plummeting living standards. Citizens cannot buy what they need. A whole class of people have emerged in the country who live at the expense of the poor.

The whole world has suffered as a result of the Soviet Union's disintegration.

East Europe

Polish Aide on Reported Withdrawal Costs

PM1911113791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Nov 91 Union Edition p 6

[Letter to editors from A. Magdziak-Miscievsk, press counselor at the Polish Embassy, published under the rubric "From the International Department's Mailbag": "The Polish Side Does Not Agree With the Commander"]

[Text] On 24 October 1991 IZVESTIYA (No. 254) published an interview with Colonel General V. Dubynin, commander of the Northern Group of Forces. Speaking of the problems involved in the withdrawal of troops from Poland, Gen. Dubynin stated that the Polish side is demanding $46,000 for permission to use one railroad car. This is untrue. The Polish side, understanding the financial difficulties of its Eastern neighbors, fixed (as of 23 February 1991) a lower price for transportation—0.71 Swiss Francs [SFr] per axle-kilometer (the European tariff is SFr1.1).

Transport costs according to this tariff are several times less than the sum mentioned by the general. The assessment of our position and the motives for our actions given by A. Dubynin in the next part of the interview are also far from the intentions of the Polish side.

The fact that the general's statement appeared in a paper like IZVESTIYA on the eve of the initialing in Moscow of the treaty between the Republic of Poland and the USSR on the issue of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Polish territory is grounds for astonishment. We would not like to think that V. Dubynin is distorting facts and consciously misleading public opinion in his country. We hope that there was a misunderstanding here which the general himself will refute as quickly as possible.

Respectfully,

[Signed] A. Magdziak-Miscievsk, press counselor at the Polish Republic Embassy

West Europe

Grachev, Yakovlev on 'Honecker Problem'

LD1911153991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1435 GMT 19 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Staroselskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 19 Nov (TASS)—In recent days the "Honecker problem" has been snowballing, gathering various kinds of commentaries, details, and conjectures, Andrey Grachev, head of the USSR president's press service, said at a briefing today. Replying to a TASS correspondent, he noted that this problem is not a central one in Soviet-German relations. The FRG minister of justice is of the same opinion. In our view, the presidential spokesman said, this is a useful and necessary feature in the debate that has developed in recent days concerning this rather complicated legal and political problem.

Veniamin Yakovlev, the USSR president's state counsellor for legal issues, said in turn that the problem is indeed not just a legal and political one, but also a moral one. He recalled that Honecker was part of the fight against fascism, and that his earlier activity is connected with our recent history. For that reason, there cannot be any simple, even primitive, decisions here.

Andrey Grachev added that he has no information on whether Erich Honecker has really made a request for political asylum to the USSR president. If any such request does arrive, then in his opinion it is the prerogative of the president to deal with the issue.

Army Commander Begins 5-Day Visit to Sweden

LD1811203291 Moscow TASS in English 1356 GMT 18 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Igor Revyakin]

[Text] Stockholm November 18 TASS—Soviet Army Commander Colonel-General Vladimir Semenov on Monday [18 November] arrived in Sweden on a five-day official visit.

During his visit, he will meet Bent Gustafsson, commander of the Swedish Armed Forces, and other high-ranking military to discuss the state of and prospects for Soviet-Swedish military ties.

He will also visit several military facilities and air defence units to familiarise himself with the system of combat training. Semenov will attend exhibition military games at the land forces training centre in southern Sweden.

UK's Major Endorses Pankin Appointment

LD2011072791 Moscow TASS in English 0720 GMT 20 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Yuriy Sidorov]

[Text] London November 20 TASS—Prime Minister John Major endorsed the appointment of Boris Pankin as the ambassador of the Soviet Union to Britain.

This question was discussed during a 15-minute telephone talk between the British premier and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev on Tuesday [18 November]. During the talk, Major referred to Pankin as a courageous man who had immediately condemned the August coup participants, the PRESS ASSOCIATION news agency reported.

According to the agency, after consultations between Major and Gorbachev, the question of Pankin's appointment was decided upon in the British Foreign Office within an hour, although, according to a usual diplomatic procedure, the approval of the candidacy of a new ambassador takes several weeks.

Military Official on Contacts With Turkey

LD1811202391 Moscow TASS in English 1333 GMT 18 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Oleg Moskovskiy]

[Text] Moscow November 18 TASS—"The expansion of military cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Turkey helps build mutual trust, openness, [word indistinct] and common security," Colonel-General Bronislav Omelichev, first deputy chief of the Soviet Armed Forces' General Staff, told TASS today on the eve of his departure by air for Turkey. The forthcoming visit will pursue precisely these purposes, he emphasised.

Omelichev believes that the Soviet Union and Turkey are brought together "by long-standing traditions of goodneighbourly relations, including military contacts".

The general is of the opinion that regular exchanges of visits by military leaders, delegations of military educational establishments, combatant and training ships have become traditional in relations between the two countries. Military contacts become increasingly dynamic of late, Omelichev said.

Swiss Confiscate Illegally Exported Uranium

92UF0216A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 15 Nov 91 p 3

[Article by Sergey Sedov: "Another Scandal?"]

[Text] Geneva—An international network of traders in uranium which entered the West illegally, supposedly from the USSR, has been discovered by the Zurich police. As a result of operations conducted in one of the city's hotels, seven people were arrested "at the scene of the crime" and more than 29 kilograms of a "weakly radioactive" substance were confiscated, a TASS correspondent reports.

This sensational news is contained in an official report of the Zurich Canton police. According to this document, the indicated radioactive cargo, which consists of small pieces of the substance two to three centimeters in length, kept in two ordinary suitcases, was discovered by the police in the trunk of a car belonging to the esteemed Honduran consul in Switzerland who resides permanently in Zurich: 66-year-old Swiss citizen Federico Renfer [name as transliterated].

At the same time the Zurich police did not officially confirm the "Soviet" origin of the "weakly radioactive" material seized by its workers.

Political & Social

Reaction to Shevardnadze Reappointment Cited

Role in Strengthening Union Assessed

LD2011093391 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 20 Nov 91

[Aleksandr Zerenkov commentary]

[Text] Mikhail Gorbachev, president of the USSR, has signed a decree appointing Eduard Shevardnadze as USSR minister of external relations. Here is our commentary. At the microphone is Aleksandr Zerenkov.

[Zerenkov] Shevardnadze has returned. He has set his shoulders to the center, which is disappearing before our very eyes. Is that a good thing or a bad thing? If one looks at it from the position of the traditional confrontation between Russia and the center, it is a palpable reinforcement of the position of the center and of Mikhail Gorbachev, personally. The authority of Shevardnadze, both in the world and in the country, is indisputable. He is one of the founders and leaders of the Movement for Democratic Reforms. And his return to Gorbachev's team signifies a tangible expansion of the political base of the president of the USSR.

But all these arguments, I'm afraid, have already become commonplace and obsolete. The situation has changed fundamentally. The past confrontation between Gorbachev and Yeltsin is no more. The numerous statements by Boris Nikolayevich, his participation in the Novo-Ogarevo process, have clearly shown Russia's interest in the preservation of the Union—including as a subject of international relations. The disintegration of the Union may have a serious affect on Russia, too. The disintegration of statehood may have catastrophic consequences and that process must be halted. Both Boris Yeltsin and Mikhail Gorbachev are interested in that to an equal degree, as are all who are not indifferent to the fate of the peoples inhabiting our country.

Russia needs the center, as do other republics, too. But it will be a different center, a different union—a union of sovereign states—and Eduard Shevardnadze may play not the least of roles in constructing that new union. Shevardnadze is returning to a high-ranking state post in an extremely difficult situation, at a sharp turn in our history. The motherland now needs the unification of all of the best intellectual forces. Let's hope that Eduard Shevardnadze, with his experience, knowledge, and authority will fit in [vpisatsya] the team, that his efforts will unite with the efforts of Boris Yeltsin and other political figures who are striving to lead our country out of the humiliating position which it is now in.

Reacts With Pankin

PM2011113591 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 20 Nov 91 p 1

[Unattributed, untitled report]

[Text] Yesterday USSR President M. Gorbachev signed a decree appointing E. Shevardnadze as USSR minister of external relations.

Evening Call to B. Pankin

"I welcome my new appointment," Boris Dmitriyevich said. "I like the work of an ambassador, particularly as Britain is one of the leading countries of 'the Seven.' As for my work as foreign minister," B.D. Pankin remarked, "I have done everything possible during this time and have deideologized the ministry. A whole number of important decisions have been adopted during these days. As you know, my concept of the foreign policy department was approved at a session of the State Council, and I can go as ambassador to London with a clear conscience."

And to E. Shevardnadze

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Should we congratulate you or sympathize with you, Eduard Amvrosiyevich?

[Shevardnadze] There are no grounds for congratulations. Sympathy, too, is out of place. The time has now come when the fate not only of the country but also of peace on our planet is being decided. And the planet's future depends on how events develop in the country. So I have decided to occupy some place—it is not important which—in this struggle.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Was this a hard decision for you to make?

[Shevardnadze] Very hard. It was more difficult than resigning.

Views New Plans, Decision to Return

LD2011130691 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 20 Nov 91

[Text] Eduard Shevardnadze, who has been appointed USSR minister of external relations, has shared the plans of his future activity with correspondents from INTERFAX and the newspaper IZVESTIYA. He sees as his priority task conducting a new policy regarding all the sovereign republics of the former Union. The first thing Shevardnadze intends to do is visit the capitals of the republics and hold talks with their leaders. Evidently the well-known opposition of Zviad Gamsakhurdia, the president of Georgia, who pointedly expressed his opposition to Shevardnadze visiting Georgia, will hinder the latter's trip to Tbilisi. Nevertheless, as Eduard Shevardnadze stressed, he is open to dialogue with all those who are opposed to him.

Answering the question of what induced him to return to the ministry, Shevardnadze replied that a situation which is much more complicated than that preceding the August events has taken shape in the country at the present time. In these circumstances I could not remain an observer on the sidelines. We have to take up our places at the barricades in order the save the world, since an unstable Soviet Union is the biggest threat to peace and to the whole planet, Eduard Shevardnadze stressed.

Reinstatement Called 'Sensation'

LD1911223791 Moscow TASS in English 2200 GMT 19 Nov 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow November 19 TASS—The Soviet media viewed as a sensation the Soviet president's decree reinstating Eduard Shevardnadze to the post of Soviet foreign minister. However, people close to the minister say the president's decision was a logical step in light of processes taking place both inside the country and abroad.

The reinstatement of Shevardnadze to foreign political activity of the state is a result of the recognition of his considerable deserts and efforts he has been continuously making throughout all stages of democratic restructuring of our country.

As soon as the president's decree became known, a source close to Eduard Shevardnadze's inner circle told TASS, the minister's telephone, as well as those of his relatives and close associates, became "red hot." Calls came from different parts of the country as well as from many foreign countries—a tribute to Shevardnadze's international authority and his services on the international arena.

Asked about the future of the foreign political association which Shevardnadze established and led after resigning from his ministerial post last year, the same source said "it is not yet clear but will become so quite soon."

A high-ranking Soviet diplomat told TASS in a telephone conversation that "following some recent developments, the Soviet Foreign Ministry was expecting changes in its leadership. But even to ministry staffers, the president's decree came as a surprise."

On Wednesday [20 November], Shevardnadze will hold first talks in his new capacity—Australia's Foreign Minister Gareth Evans has just arrived on a visit to the Soviet Union.

TASS Reports Biography

LD1911223191 Moscow TASS in English 2141 GMT 19 Nov 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Viktor Runov]

[Text] Moscow November 19 TASS—The reinstatement of Eduard Shevardnadze to the post of Soviet foreign minister fits in the line of the Soviet president's current efforts to reunite sovereign republics of the former Soviet Union on the basis of a common economic space.

Eduard Shevardnadze's political life has been far from smooth. He was fast in traversing the path from a former party functionary to a bold reformer who decisively discarded the party dogma and placing himself in opposition to the environment that nourished him.

In 1985, he was, unexpected by many, appointed USSR foreign minister, and in 1991 he resigned of his own free will after making a prophetic statement at a parliament session on looming dictatorship.

Shevardnadze's international reputation is extremely high. Western politicians regard him as a public figure and person of high moral and business standards.

Because of this, he became one of ten nominees for the post of UN secretary general. Shevardnadze is associated with a number of political initiatives which transformed the international climate. He helped revolutionize Soviet-American relations, transform Eastern Europe politically and reduce the threat to peace through the signing of an entire range of nuclear and conventional arms reduction treaties. He attracts Western politicians with his openness and personal charm.

Undoubtedly, by reinstating Shevardnadze to the post of foreign minister the Soviet president counts on his authority in building a single foreign policy of the revamped union of sovereign states.

A month ago, Shevardnadze told TASS that he believed in the possibility of preserving a common economic and military-strategic space on the territory of the former Soviet Union. However, he noted that "this must be done very quickly, or everything will be lost." Now Shevardnadze has an actual opportunity to help the attainment of these objectives.

At 63 years of age, Shevardnadze is full of energy. He never for a second stood aloof from the country's political life and enjoys full trust and respect on the part of the leaders of all sovereign republics.

Eduard Shevardnadze was born in Georgia in 1928, he graduated the College of Education in Kutaisi where he majored in history.

From 1946 on, he worked as a functionary of the Youth Communist League and later of the Georgian Communist Party. From 1968, he was Georgia's interior minister. From 1972 till 1985, he [was] Georgia's number one man as the first secretary of the republic's Communist Party. From 1985 till 1990 he belonged to the Communist Party elite as a Politburo member.

From 1985 until 1990, Shevardnadze headed the Soviet Union's Foreign Ministry and in 1990 and 1991, he was also a member of the Soviet Presidential Council.

In 1991, Shevardnadze initiated the establishment of, and later headed an independent public organization—the Soviet Foreign Political Association. In July 1991, Shevardnadze resigned from the Soviet Communist Party and became one of the initiators of the USSR Democratic Reform Movement. He is now co-chairman of this movement.

This autumn, Shevardnadze became a member of the Soviet president's Political Consultative Council. He is leading the Soviet state delegation to talks with Lithuania entrusted with solving problems associated with the recognition of Lithuania's independence.

Eduard Shevardnadze authored a number of books. His autobiography "My Choice" has been hailed in the West as "the best political book of the year."

Eduard Shevardnadze is married with an adult son and a daughter.

Interviewed on Current Issues

LD1911222191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1943 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Interview with Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze by correspondent Valentin Zorin "a few days ago," place not given; from the "Undiplomatic Conversations" program—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Zorin] Hello. Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze is the guest of our program today. [passage omitted]

In the summer of 1985, Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze was appointed USSR minister of foreign affairs. The appointment came as a surprise and caused a sensation. [passage omitted]

Many members of the staff were always puzzled by the fact that you, who had not been engaged in foreign policy before you took office at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, were able to master the secrets of the trade so quickly. Or would you say that there are no secrets here at all, that to become a diplomat it is just sufficient to learn never to say a definite yes or a definite no?

[Shevardnadze] First, thank you very much for your kind words. That is the first thing. Second, as far as your specific question is concerned, I cannot separate, you see, politics from diplomacy. True, I had no experience at that time in the field of diplomacy. But I did work in politics, after all, both in my republic and to some extent at the Union level. I followed events. No doubt the general situation and the general atmosphere which was taking shape under the then existing leadership of which I was part—for better or for worse, but that's another matter—helped me to master the trade. That is the first thing.

Second, the diplomatic service itself, and work in the diplomatic service, involves team work and team labor. I spoke many times about that large collective. And now it is going through hard times. I can however put this bluntly: If it had not been for that collective, there would have been no new thinking and no new policy, and the former minister would not have managed to do anything useful for his country and for the world.

[Zorin] [passage omitted] What is the essence of the art of diplomacy? What is diplomacy? And what should possess a diplomat to be able to act well in his field? [passage omitted]

[Shevardnadze] In my experience, I think, the main task in diplomacy is to define priorities, to define priorities in politics. This may well be the most difficult task at whatever level of development society is. As for the recent past—the years of perestroyka, the new thinking, etc—the task of defining priorities was all the more important for us and it was most important at the time. If we speak now—not without reason—of breakthroughs, in this respect the main thing was, no doubt, that we correctly defined our main tasks and our main priorities in foreign policy and diplomacy.

If we had not accepted the supremacy of human interests over class and other interests, we would probably have found it difficult to achieve major, important successes. If we had not freed our foreign policy from the ideologized, or, as we used to say at that time, class interests, etc, we would have found it difficult to find a common language with our partners; it would have been difficult to overcome the military confrontation that you know so well, etc. There is a determining of priorities.

[Zorin] My next question was prompted by a statement made not long ago by Erich Honecker, the former leader of the GDR, who said that the main culprit in the disintegration of the GDR and of, as he put it, the annexation of the GDR by the Federal Republic of Germany—the main culprit was Eduard Shevardnadze and his policy. There are other critical comments about you in certain circles. But the thing is that it is not individuals or their individual remarks, but the concept, as I see it, that the foreign policy of the Soviet Union during the years of perestroyka was, allegedly, a policy of retreat and almost capitulation. What could you, Eduard Amvrosiyevich, say to those who express such opinions?

[Shevardnadze] [chuckles] I should thank Erich Honecker, because we are not talking now about the disintegration of the GDR, but rather about an absolutely logical, historically justified, and simply unavoidable process of unification of the German nation. In that respect, if my participation is so visible, I am only grateful to him for acknowledging this role, so to speak.

That is on the one hand—but on the other, I have already said that it is very important to establish priorities. One of the priorities, one of the principles of the new political thinking, and this principle is now accepted all over the world, is the freedom of choice. And why should the German people, the German nation, not have the right to freedom of choice?—just like Poland and the Poles and just like Czechoslovakia and Hungary and Bulgaria and all the other peoples, and just like the Soviet peoples. We recognized this right, and the implementation of this principle led to the formation of what is, in essence, a new East Europe. I consider that this was also a natural process, a totally natural process. If we had not recognized the freedom of choice, if we had not facilitated the unification of Germany, the formation of free peoples, of free states, in East Europe, we would have stood on the verge of a third world war. We could not permit this.

[Zorin] Well, in general, the suggestions that Shevardnadze's course was one of retreat on all parameters....

[Shevardnadze, interrupting] Well, people can understand the word retreat in various ways. I think that if we had been drawn into a third world war, this would have been a total catastrophe and would have meant physical annihilation.

[Zorin] The end of civilization.

[Shevardnadze] The end of civilization, a catastrophe for all of civilization and all of mankind. That is the first thing. And the second thing is that if peoples acquire freedom and freely choose their governments and themselves determine their way of life, including the sociopolitical structure, I do not think that this is a retreat. This is a part of totally normal and civilized relations between states, between peoples, so to say. So, I think that it was precisely this process which took place and which is taking place in Europe and throughout the world.

[Zorin] You speak about the reduced threat of nuclear war. That is undoubted, but I would like to ask you, in connection with this, whether you consider that the military threat to our country has been totally eliminated, or does it still exist in some form?

[Shevardnadze] You know, as far as the current aspects of the threat are concerned, I think that in reality they do not exist for us at present. They do not exist in reality. Starting from Malta, we had good reasons to come to this conclusion and acknowledge that as far as Soviet-U.S. relations were concerned, we were not military opponents; we were moving to a new kind of relationship—one of partnership, cooperation, and interaction. The same can be said about China, West Europe, and so on.

But other threats have arisen—and you know this very well—which are no less serious and perhaps even more dangerous. These are our internal problems, the internal conflicts which could become the source of very serious and major troubles, perhaps even of tragic events.

Here, then, is the main and principal threat now to peace, and not only for the Soviet Union. I think that an unstable Soviet Union, our unstable country, is now the main threat to the whole world, perhaps more dangerous than the nuclear threat, the ecological threat, as it were, the economic threat, and all the rest.

[Zorin] [passage omitted, asking whether the process of the USSR's disintegration will not damage the republics' newly proclaimed sovereignty] How will the situation look once the dust has settled?

[Shevardnadze] That is, perhaps, one of the most complicated and difficult questions. It is not so easy to answer. On the one hand, it is completely normal for peoples, nations, and ethnic groups to aspire to independence, proclaim their sovereignty, and, as we say, parade their sovereignty, as it were, and establish their sovereignty. All that is a perfectly natural process. On the other hand, a certain isolation, or isolatedness, of the peoples of the republics, the sovereign states, from the surrounding world, including from the republics with which they had been living in a community for several decades, and perhaps even for some centuries, is, to some extent, at variance with the main trends that are characteristic of the whole world now, and of the whole civilized... [changes thought] of civilized states.

This is the progress—the processes of integration, of being integrated, in the economy, as it were, in science and technology, the humanitarian domain, and so on, the formation of a single space, a democratic, economic space, and so on. Therefore, such, I would say, contradictory processes are taking place, but it seems to me that this is some kind of temporary phenomenon—some kind of temporary phenomenon—because the republics must form their sovereignty, and there is an ongoing process in the establishment, the formation, of independent states. This is, perhaps, the most essential reaction to what has already occurred—the heavy legacy, the extremely heavy legacy, that was passed on to our peoples, our republics, which are now sovereign states.

But I am sure that it is hardly possible to go right to the end against the regularities that are characteristic of the whole world community, against this current. The time will come. There is now a great deal of euphoria, as it were, a great deal of emotion, a great deal of feeling. It seems to me that a certain amount of time will pass, and these processes—specifically, I mean the integration processes—will undoubtedly develop. Look at what is happening in West Europe, not just in the field of the economy—you remember that they began with the economy, then they moved on to the field of politics, and now they are talking already about a military-political, single space, and so on. Such is the general tendency of world development in present conditions. [passage omitted in which Zorin asks whether the Franco-German initiative aimed at setting up joint armed forces marks the beginning of a significant change in NATO]

You know, a certain reformation, a perestroyka, a transformation of this alliance is inevitable. You remember the documents of the Paris summit, the documents that were signed. The heads of states who signed these documents spoke in favor of transforming this alliance. But this process is being delayed at present, and for a reason. I think that the main question is the situation that has arisen in East Europe, in East European countries, in the Soviet Union, the instability in these very important regions of Europe and Asia. And the fact that

France and the united Germany are trying to find ways to unite their efforts—I mean the reinforcement of the defense potential of these states—this process also reflects what is happening in our country. I said at the very beginning of our conversation that an unstable Soviet Union and East Europe represent today an enormous threat to the European continent and to the whole world. But nevertheless I really hope that other processes will develop. It is still possible.

I think that the idea of a common European home, the building of a united Europe, and I would like to underline today, of great Europe, the building of great Europe, great, united Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals, from the Atlantic to Vladivostok, including all our territory, most probably a European-Asian space, a united democratic space, a united economic space, a united humanitarian space—this process is inevitable. I am sure that we will come to build a united military strategic space as well. To put it more precisely, we will build a united Europe whose security will be based on the principles of collective security—to be precise, collective security. [passage omitted in which Zorin asks whether Shevardnadze wants to go back to work in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs]

No, I do not know about coming back. But I have never been indifferent to that collective. Now, as any employee of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, I think a lot about the fate of this truly unique collective, where there are talented people, people with an enormous potential.

Everything has to be done, therefore, to insure that at least the backbone of this large collective is preserved. It is an item of national property belonging to all the peoples, to all the peoples of all the sovereign states, as we say today, and it must be protected and rescued.

[Zorin] That is to talk about our foreign policy service. But to talk about you: Wherein do you see your own political future, if this is not too immodest a question—but then our conversation is called undiplomatic and therefore I will be so bold as to ask it.

[Shevardnadze] As far as the future is concerned, you know, I don't know, everything depends upon circumstances, so to speak, upon the situation overall. But currently I am contented with my lot because I have a lot of work. In the first place I do a great deal of work within the framework of the association where we now find ourselves. This is very interesting activity and very many gifted people work with me here, and young people, so to speak, and people who have gone through a certain school.

I am doing a lot of work now in the democratic reforms movement. I consider that this movement has a big future, particularly against the background of the disintegration of the Communist Party. A well-known vacuum has formed in our society and certainly a very great deal is now going to depend upon the way we are able to fill this space, precisely the democratic forces and the democratic movement and the democratic trends and parties. And in this connection great hopes are being placed upon our movement.

As you know, I head the delegation which must conduct negotiations with the Lithuanian leadership. This is not a simple process and I see my task, as the head of the delegation, as insuring that we conduct these negotiations in an amicable atmosphere, so to speak, and that we achieve the kind of results that will mean we remain good neighbors and that all the very best—I am thinking of the traditions—that has been built up between our peoples over decades and centuries is preserved.

And there is another function, another mission: As you know, I am a member of the consultative council under the president. I am trying to be useful in this body, too. True, this is a consultative council, but if the consultation is well qualified then it, too, has a certain material value, so to speak, and a certain significance. So there are a lot of things to do. I do not get bored. What comes next, time alone will tell.

[Zorin] Well, thank you very much for a very interesting conversation. I would like to express the hope that this will not be our last conversation together, Eduard Amvrosyevich.

[Shevardnadze] Thank you very much. I wish you success and I thank you for your attention.

[Zorin] Thank you.

[Shevardnadze] Thank you.

To Open Democratic Reforms Congress

LD2011132491 Moscow TASS in English 1150 GMT 20 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Nikolay Stepanchenko]

[Text] Moscow November 20 TASS—As chairman of the organising committee of the Democratic Reforms Movement (DRM), Eduard Shevardnadze, who was appointed the Soviet foreign minister on Tuesday [19 November], will declare open a DRM founding congress to be held in Moscow on December 4-15, a spokesman at the press service of the DRM organising committee, told TASS.

A political report will be delivered by Aleksandr Yakovlev, an eminent political figure. It is expected that among speakers will be such prominent political figures as economist Nikolay Petrakov, to speak about economic policy issues, Mayor Gavriil Popov of Moscow about a government reform, Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak of St. Petersburg about law and democratisation issues.

Applications for the DRM founding congress have already been filed by democratic organisations from 14 former Union republics, except for Moldavia. Talks to this effect with representatives of the republic are now under way.

The DRM, which was founded in July this year, has a membership of about a million now.

Resolution on External Relations Ministry Cited

LD1911201191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1910 GMT 19 Nov 91

["Resolution of the State Council on the Ministry of External Relations of the USSR"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 19 Nov (TASS)—The resolution of the State Council of the USSR of 14 November 1991 "On the Ministry of External Relations of the USSR," which TASS received today, approves the proposals on the formation of a Ministry of External Relations of the USSR on the basis of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, with part of the functions of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations of the USSR being handed over to it.

It is proposed that work on the structural reorganization and staffing of the Ministry of External Relations of the USSR be completed before 1 January 1992, following the main provisions approved at the sessions of the State Council of the USSR of 4 and 14 November 1991.

With a view to training cadres and carrying out analytical research for the foreign policy and the foreign economic structures of Union and republican bodies, the establishment under the Ministry of External Relations of the USSR of an educational and scientific and research complex on the basis of the Moscow State Institute of International Relations and the All-Union Scientific Research Institute into the Interplay of Market Forces [Konyunkturnyy institut] is deemed to be advisable.

The resolution institutes the centralized financing of the activity of the Ministry of External Relations of the USSR which is to be implemented taking account of the plan for the reorganization of the diplomatic service, which was approved by the State Council of the USSR. It has been recommended that specific proposals for the 1992 budget should be presented to the Interstate Economic Committee for examination.

Kalmykov Lists Gorbachev's 'Blunders'

LD2011120491 Moscow TASS in English 1024 GMT 20 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow November 20 TASS—The president of the USSR does not practically decide anything on his own now: Main decisions are taken by the leaders of the former Union republics and, collectively, during the sessions of the Council of State, Yuriy Kalmykov, chairman of the parliamentary Committee for Legislation, writes in an article published in today's PRAVDA.

The author of the article believes that President Mikhail Gorbachev, having launched major reforms in various fields of domestic and foreign policies that created prerequisites for the country's democratic development, probably got confused upon encountering the results of his own innovatory activity.

"It becomes increasingly difficult to foretell the consequences of his decisions," Kalmykov writes. "In this connection one may recall the past errors that cannot but be associated with the president's name: An anti-alcohol campaign (which inflicted tremendous damage upon society), a complete economic breakdown, a considerable deterioration in people's well-being, and blunders in pursuing personnel policy."

Gorbachev Receives Painter Mikhail Shemyakin

PM1911170391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Nov 91 Union Edition p 1

[G. Melikyants report: "M. Gorbachev Has Received the Painter M. Shemyakin"]

[Text] Who would have thought that Mikhail Shemyakin, who was expelled from art school for his enthusiasm for the ideas of Tatlin and Malevich—which were alien to socialist realism—who then got himself a job with difficulty in the Hermitage as a scaffolding worker, and who sauntered around St. Petersburg in a top hat, for which he was locked up in a psychiatric hospital—who would have thought that Mikhail Shemyakin would ever be received by the country's president and that they would have a pleasant and lengthy conversation? Admittedly, first of all Mikhail Shemyakin was to leave this country—seemingly forever. There was his intensive creative work and participation in the most prestigious exhibitions abroad. Unbelievable fame was to come to him, placing Shemyakin among the people whom the motherland can easily count among its distinguished ranks. There was his extensive publishing work, and the main thing he did here was to make Russian art known. There were his philanthropic acts, and finally, the noble mission to liberate our servicemen in Afghanistan. That is, all the things that make this man worthy of respect as a Russian and as a patriot, because it is not the man who beats his breast who is a patriot, but the man who really holds his motherland dear and works for its benefit.

Shemyakin went into the president's reception room dressed extravagantly and severely at the same time—wearing a black shirt, riding breeches, and leggings, with a cross on his chest. I managed to exchange a few words with him.

[Melikyants] In your opinion, why is the return of our guys from captivity being delayed?

[Shemyakin] There are many reasons for this, and partly it is the decisions of our guys themselves. After all, they have been cut off from real information, and sometimes they do not know what is happening at home and in the world.... [Shemyakin ends]

It is exactly 1800. He is called into to see the president. They shake hands. Shemyakin gives Gorbachev an album of records by his close friend Vladimir Vysotskiy.

"Mikhail Sergeyevich, I know that you like Volodya's work...." He continued: "I very much wanted to meet you when you were in New York but an earthquake stopped me...."

"There are often all kinds of earthquakes here," M. Gorbachev observed jokingly.

The photographers took their pictures. The interlocutors stayed behind. Meanwhile we hurried to the editorial office in time to hand in our material for this issue....

KGB Chief Bakatin Interviewed on Reforms

AU1911102391 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 18 Nov 91 pp 196-198

[Interview with KGB Chief Vadim Bakatin by an unnamed DER SPIEGEL journalist; place and date not given]

[Text] [DER SPIEGEL] Mr. Bakatin, as the new chief, are you now the liquidator of the bankrupt enterprise KGB, which was once feared all over the world?

[Bakatin] It is not only the liquidation of the KGB which is at issue. The entire system has collapsed. In its old form, the KGB is not compatible with our "new revolution"—all these outdated tasks, from the persecution of people who think differently to the struggle against international imperialism. On the other hand, democratic states, too, need intelligence services. Therefore, our task is not dissolution but reform and decentralization.

[DER SPIEGEL] The KGB is now called the Interrepublican Security Service. But first you have to change the ideology of the intelligence service employees.

[Bakatin] This is one of the most difficult tasks. Changing personnel is not sufficient. In particular, since we do not have any others. However, now many employees have understood that one cannot go on in that way. The only thing that will help now is to persistently convince every single employee.

[DER SPIEGEL] The KGB, too, lost its enemy image with the end of the cold war. Is a cutback in personnel now an inevitable dividend of peace?

[Bakatin] Of course, success in safeguarding peace must unavoidably have an effect on the size and tasks of the intelligence services. In the past the KGB was absolutely bent on being represented all over the world, down to the last African country. It is quite clear that the staff has to be reduced. However, Yevgeniy Primakov, the head of the Central Reconnaissance Service, is now responsible for this area.

[DER SPIEGEL] What sort of reduction in personnel for foreign intelligence gathering do you consider necessary?

[Bakatin] Roughly calculated, 50 percent less would be no problem at all. However, as I said: This is no longer my business.

[DER SPIEGEL] Your colleagues from the other side tell us that a changing world does not require less but more espionage.

[Bakatin] Perhaps. In any case, the issue is not so much quantity. A complicated world requires, above all, more efficient intelligence gathering. I get so much trash on my table, often it is not worth more than newspaper clippings. I must pay a compliment to DER SPIEGEL: It published the video tapes with the interrogations of the putschists, and nobody knows where your magazine got them from. Can you tell me that?

[DER SPIEGEL] Do you expect an answer to that?

[Bakatin] Of course not; I am not naive. But once again: In the future what is needed is more quality and a new ideology, new spheres of work, such as terrorism, drugs, corruption.

[DER SPIEGEL] You probably have not quite got rid of old habits. In Germany you continue to spy vigorously, you listen to telephone conversations from Berlin-Karlshorst.

[Bakatin] This is quite possible. But I have been in office for only two months, and I have never been to Karlshorst. By the way, there is also work against us—and not a little.

[DER SPIEGEL] Then you will probably not be able to tell us whether former GDR espionage chief Markus "Mischa" Wolf provided your pool of agents, which allegedly comprises 700 men, with a few high-quality Stasi agents?

[Bakatin] Now I have to ask you whether you really expect an answer to that.

[DER SPIEGEL] May we at least know whether the KGB disinformation department, whose task it was to deceive Western media and political groups, has ceased working?

[Bakatin] We did not have an independent department for that in the KGB. However, disinformation campaigns were mainly started in our own country—for instance in Lithuania with the claim that the people were willing to overthrow Landsbergis. This was done by the party and the KGB together. And the result of this operation is known. We had great artists here for that, but we no longer need them. I do not give such assignments.

[DER SPIEGEL] But ex-KGB General Kalugin continues to work in disinformation: He says that DER SPIEGEL published KGB material. We really do not know anything about that.

[Bakatin] KGB agents are supposed to have worked in DER SPIEGEL One would have to ask Kalugin about that.

[DER SPIEGEL] We are asking you.

[Bakatin] You had better ask him; I do not have any information about that. However, so far I have had the impression that Kalugin is a man with a sense of responsibility and a really democratic spirit. In the past few months he has helped me to overcome difficult obstacles in this apparatus. Do I interpret the tone of your question correctly: Do you want to pull Kalugin across the table by his nose?

[DER SPIEGEL] No, truly.

[Bakatin] There are so many experts today, each of whom wants to present a big sensation.

[DER SPIEGEL] For us the Kalugin case is just one more piece of evidence that the KGB cannot be "the world's best intelligence service," as you always used to claim.

[Bakatin] I am supposed to have said that? God forbid. This is another example of disinformation. The KGB was far from being the best intelligence service. Perhaps its former leaders believed that, but certainly not I.

[DER SPIEGEL] Obviously the KGB continuously misinformed its leadership and did not report that the USSR was on the point of losing the contest of the systems. Thus it contributed to the decline of the Soviet Union.

[Bakatin] The fact that our economy is today exhausted and almost ruined because of the continuous arms race can be traced back to the information policy of the intelligence services. They always said that we had to catch up militarily and our political leadership fully adhered to this. Now nobody knows how to restructure this economy, which is one-sidedly programmed for armament. However, please do not cause me to enter even further into conflict with this authority. The people are already angry with me. But I have to continue working with them.

[DER SPIEGEL] You are dealing with the old cadres and probably also with the old spirit.

[Bakatin] As everywhere in society, there are different types. There are also many solid professionals and experts. I hope that I will be able to rely on this hard core. We will retire the ideological dogmatists.

[DER SPIEGEL] You are facing quite a bit of work.

[Bakatin] The situation is unfavorable for the KGB. As a new chairman who does not come from this service, I do not always take the professional pride of our people into consideration and I am incurring quite a risk. But I do not want to adapt; I want to remain as I am.

[DER SPIEGEL] What do you tell employees who say that they are adhering to the tradition of the Cheka, the first Soviet secret police, which was founded by Dzerzhinskiy?

[Bakatin] I tell them: The traditions of Chekism must be eradicated, Chekism as an ideology must disappear. You must be guided by the law and not by an ideology. There is no other way, in particular in such an authority.

[DER SPIEGEL] But all of them were communists.

[Bakatin] As a realist I do not conclude that all of them must go. When Boris Yeltsin banned the Communist Party groups in companies and authorities, no one in the KGB was bothered by it.

[DER SPIEGEL] Now the Communist Party has been banned. Is this prudent?

[Bakatin] I have grave doubts whether it is compatible with a state based on the rule of law to ban a party—unless it follows an ideology that is hostile to mankind, preaches racial hatred, or does not recognize the laws. But the wish to establish communism—why should it not be permitted?

[DER SPIEGEL] People who were educated as Chekists are now supposed to defend democracy?

[Bakatin] We do not have any others. One cannot fire everyone. The entire country, educated in the spirit of totalitarianism, is confronted with this task of democratization; this is a dilemma not only for my authority.

[DER SPIEGEL] The KGB was not quite uninvolved in the August putsch.

[Bakatin] That is true. As a result, the entire leadership has been dismissed, but the majority of the employees had nothing to do with it. I think that it will be possible to put the apparatus on the right track.

[DER SPIEGEL] There is no organization that has brought so much misery to the Soviet citizens as the secret police. Do you not owe it to the millions of victims to open the archives in order to come to terms with the past?

[Bakatin] I am for publishing the KGB statistics. So far none have existed. Experts have now drawn up a list of how many people were persecuted, put on trial, or shot, from 1917 to 1990.

[DER SPIEGEL] How many were there?

[Bakatin] The rumors are certainly grossly exaggerated.

[DER SPIEGEL] Then, please, give us the figures that are correct in your view.

[Bakatin] I cannot do that; for that I would need permission first. However, I have already suggested that and I will make sure that it no longer remains secret.

[DER SPIEGEL] But one can probably speak of millions of dead?

[Bakatin] In total this scope is probably correct. In any case, it is terrible and it must be published. But we will not publish lists of KGB agents. This would lead to an explosion, in particular in our society, which is anything but homogeneous. Parliament must decide by law how the archives are to be treated in the future.

[DER SPIEGEL] Is there a legal basis for the current work of the intelligence service—may it make arrests without a court decision, listen in on telephone conversations, enter apartments, and use physical force?

[Bakatin] Our legal basis is still the disputed KGB law passed in May. In addition, there are 5,000 old instructions, which were signed by the Council of Ministers or somebody else. We must make a deep cut and establish in the republics new legal bases that take all international experiences into consideration.

[DER SPIEGEL] However, somebody must supervise the state security organs. There has already been talk of control by society.

[Bakatin] First of all, one has to establish parliamentary control. In addition, we want to establish a social council to supervise the intelligence services. These must be reliable persons, to whom one may grant a more profound insight into our work. This is all very difficult.

[DER SPIEGEL] Do you accept the interest of other countries in learning the background to many affairs, such as the Wallenberg case or the attack on the pope and the people who gave orders to Kennedy's killer, Oswald?

[Bakatin] One must not ignore that. Regarding Raoul Wallenberg (footnote: Swedish diplomat, who has been missing since the end of the war in the Soviet Union and who saved thousands of Jews in Budapest from deportation to Auschwitz), I have always advocated complete clarification. We have made searches, we found out some things, we briefed the Wallenberg Committee on them, and we are continuing our search. The latest material is supposed to be passed on to Mikhail Gorbachev soon, because we found it in the party archives.

[DER SPIEGEL] When, where, and how did Raoul Wallenberg die?

[Bakatin] We do not yet know. Again and again a decisive document has been missing. The people who covered the traces were professionals. Regarding Oswald, we have everything about his time in Minsk and Moscow. He was followed, his conversations were monitored. But one cannot find any evidence of links with the KGB. Concerning the attack on the pope, nothing has been found in the archives.

[DER SPIEGEL] Mr. Bakatin, were you actually surprised by the putsch in August? After all, there had been warnings.

[Bakatin] The topic of a putsch had concerned us for months. In the end, nobody believed it anymore. This was also some sort of disinformation.

[DER SPIEGEL] Who will make the next putsch attempt?

[Bakatin] The next putsch will come from the streets.

Former Agent Reveals Church Links

OW1911190691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1748 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Tuesday [19 November], former officer of the KGB's Leningrad department, Sergey Rumyantsev, disclosed information pointing to contacts between the leaders of St. Petersburg's biggest religious communities and the KGB. In the newspaper NEVSKOYE VREMYA (Neva Time) Mr. Rumyantsev asserted that until very recently most of the leaders of St. Petersburg's religious confessions had supplied the local KGB committee with information about the situation in the religious communities, and about the number of parishioners and their moods, and misinformed foreign religious organizations about the state of affairs in their communities.

Mr. Rumyantsev also alleges that the KGB guaranteed its agents the leading position in their communities. As an example, the former KGB officer named a leader of the Consultative Council of the Heads of Religious Confessions attached to the St. Petersburg Mayor's Office, Rabbi Levitis of St. Petersburg's synagogue, who had the secret name of Sergey.

Intelligence Service Names Public Liaison Head

LD1911180491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1708 GMT 19 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Igor Gvritishvili]

[Text] Moscow, 19 Nov (TASS)—Yuriy Kobaladze has been appointed head of the bureau for liaison with the public of the Central Intelligence Service. As reported to the TASS correspondent at the Intelligence Cadres Administration, he was born in Tbilisi, capital of Georgia, 42 years ago. In 1972 he graduated from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations. His specialization is journalism. He speaks English fluently. Before his new appointment he worked at the state television and radio company. From 1977 through 1984 he was a radio correspondent in Great Britain. Subsequently he repeatedly covered state visits to Great Britain, Malta, the United States and France.

Yuriy Kobaladze is married and has two daughters.

Republics To Close Union Trade Chamber

LD2011062391 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0530 GMT 20 Nov 91

[Text] A meeting of the leaders of the sovereign republics' chambers of trade and industry has deemed it expedient to end the activity of the USSR Chamber of Trade. The meeting participants—representatives of Azerbaijan, Belorussia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and the Ukraine, and also Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia—came to the conclusion that it is necessary to use the USSR Chamber of Trade as the foundation for the establishment of a confederation of the chambers of trade and industry of the states belonging to the former USSR.

Official Reviews Union Treaty Expected Signing

LD1911221591 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 19 NOV 91

[Text] Veniamin Yakovlev, state councilor for legal policy attached to the USSR president, has said at a briefing in Moscow that the Union treaty may be initialled at the next session of the State Council. The state councilor did not announce the possible date of the session. According to Yakovlev, the finishing touches have been put on the text of the treaty and it has been sent out to the heads of the republics participating in the Novo-Ogarevo talks. Yakovlev announced that the draft Union treaty envisages the institution of Union citizenship but includes the reservation that the question of granting such citizenship to those Russian-speaking inhabitants of the Baltic states who seek it can only be resolved during talks between the delegations of the Union and of those states. He called the draft law on citizenship adopted in the first reading by the Lithuanian parlament: not fully studied; and: hasty. Yakovlev said that the Russian leadership had not asked at the State Council for the consent of its members to handing over to the republic's jurisdiction of USSR Gokhran and Gosznak, which is envisaged by the recent decrees of Russia's president. According to Yakovlev, Yeltsin's decrees are now being analyzed from the point of view of law-making instruments of other republics and the Economic Community Treaty will be discussed at the meeting of the State Council.

Report on New Government Communications System

LD1911162191

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 2035 GMT on 18 November broadcasts a 15-minute program on the USSR Government's new communications system.

The program opens with footage related to the August coup attempt, and an announcer saying that one of the results of events is that the government communications system has been reorganized.

The video cuts to an office where correspondent Vladimir Martynov talks of the secrecy that surrounded the former USSR KGB's government communications directorate. He goes on to interview the chairman of the recently formed USSR president's committee for government communications, Aleksandr Vladimirovich Starovoytov, a doctor of technical sciences.

Starovoytov says the formation of his committee was a result of the coup, although communications experts had talked previously of an independent channel for government communication. When asked what guarantee he can give that he will never cut off the president's communications, Starovoytov replies that he is directly subordinate to the president so should he do that, then it would be betrayal of his president, which is something that he would never do.

The video then shows journalists going down some steps into an underground room along the length of which run rows of cables that carry government communications. Two unidentified officials explain how these cables run between all the ministries and departments in Moscow, and carry messages throughout the country. The officials reject any idea that eavesdropping on these lines might be possible.

The "Vesti" film crew is said to be the first to be allowed to film these underground rooms, which are nuclear-proof.

After a brief shot of the Kremlin, the video shows a room which is full of computers and facsimile machines. This, the reporter states, is the nerve center of the communications system used by the president in communicating with foreign heads of state. Coded messages are sent from here. A typist is seen feeding in the messages, then an unidentified official talks briefly about the history of this department. He says it came into being in August 1963 as a result of the Caribbean crisis when the U.S. President was unable to reach the Soviet leadership.

Footage of various museum exhibits are then shown with martial music to provide the background for a brief history of the development of the communications department.

Starovoytov in his office talks briefly about the selection of young specialists to work in this department.

Another room full of telephone specialists is shown and Martynov interviews the head of this section who is not further identified and who explains how government leaders can be linked up with Washington or Khabarovsk in a matter of minutes. One of the specialists comments that at the present time most calls are being put through to Groznyy, Yerevan, and Tbilisi.

Starovoytov explains that talks are now going on with representatives of the various republics of the former Union. All sides involved in these talks appreciate the need to preserve a single information space and to cooperate and coordinate work in the sphere of communications.

He then goes on to explain the work of the units of government communication troops who come into their own when there is an emergency such as an earthquake or a train crash when an emergency confidential link is needed immediately.

Martynov then talks of another state secret now being uncovered. In a field, several vehicles topped with satellite dishes and covered with camouflage netting are seen. Alongside them troops are standing, and Martynov interviews an unidentified colonel in charge of this unit who says that it is the first time his unit has been filmed. He talks of instances when his unit has been used and explains something of its work before demonstrating how in a matter of minutes a line can be established from the forest clearing where they are located and Khabarovsk. The colonel concedes the possibility of intercepting one of these calls, but states that such a call would be impossible to decipher.

Further footage of the coup period is shown, and Martynov once more stresses that the events of August resulted in the creation of this new committee, and the hope is that the August events will not be repeated.

Martynov speaks once more to Starovoytov in his office and he explains that the main function of his committee is to guarantee confidential lines of communication. They are using the most up-to-date equipment to ensure this. The committee is also ready to offer its services to industrialists, traders, and bankers to assist them in their efforts to improve the economy, he concludes.

State Council Novo-Ogarevo Session Viewed

PM1911142191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
16 Nov 91 pp 1, 2

[Report by M. Buzhkevich and V. Shirokov: "Going Through Razdory"]

[Excerpts] The session of heads of state and government of former Union republics held in Novo-Ogarevo on 14 November ended with an encouraging result: There is to be a political union. A new title for the former USSR—the Union of Sovereign States—was also proposed.

The session lasted more than eight hours—a full working day. And the session participants devoted a good half of that time, as Yeltsin acknowledged, to what the Union should be like. [passage omitted].

The republic leaders examined the problem of the extraordinary Union budget for the fourth quarter of the current year. The leaders of the republic governments, with the participation of the chairman of the Interstate Economic Committee [IEC], were instructed to prepare a final draft of this budget within three days for subsequent endorsement by the country's parliament. It was also decided that the USSR Ministry of Finances and Ministry of Economics would function until the end of the year.

Such, in broad outline, was the State Council's discussion of the fundamental problems concerning the present and future of the country and of its economic, political, and social life. The results of the meeting induce a certain optimism in our uncertain minds. However, given our bitter experience, we will ask ourselves a less optimistic question: Will the accords reached be carried out? A far from idle or rhetorical question. Let us take just one example.

At the start of the year the republics committed themselves to make fixed payments into the country's budget revenue. However, they have by no means kept their word in full. Presently these payments come to no more than one-third of the planned sums. And this factor has played a far from minor role in the annual budget deficit's reaching 200 billion rubles [R]. As a result of a number of miscalculations and the failure to meet contractual [dogovornyy] commitments at all levels the country's economy has found itself in an exceptionally difficult situation: Food shortages are felt everywhere and important social programs have been virtually frozen. And the winter lies ahead. How will we get get through it?

Decisions which are carefully considered and weighed are particularly necessary in the prevailing situation because they exert enormous influence upon people's feelings and behavior. We will not recall all the mistakes which have lately disturbed our society and produced interethnic conflicts. Let us take just the most recent example of the latter—the very acute crisis in Checheno-Ingushetia. The Russian leaders took just days to get the assesment of the events wrong. The RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] president's decree introducing a state of emergency in the Chechen-Ingush Republic led to results diametrically opposed to those planned by its architects. It provoked condemnation not just in Checheno-Ingushetia, but in a number of other North Caucasian republics. That is how the knot of confrontation was drawn tight. How much time will be needed to unravel it.

It is unknown whether these problems were broached at the State Council—the final press conference was too brief. However, it was possible to surmise on the basis of session participants' comments that they do attach extreme importance to ethnic relations in the country. Mikhail Gorbachev at any rate did say outright that there are forces in those republics in conflict which want neither reconciliation nor concord. They are urging prolonging the bitter confrontation.

But let us now return to the new political term "confederation," to which the country and society will seemingly have to get used. Does it mean that the federative principles in the system of our state are henceforth abolished? And what will it now be called? USS? Okay, without the abbreviation that is awkward to pronounce, Union of Sovereign States sounds more or less tolerable. But the abbreviation—USS—does raise doubts. As one of our colleagues sarcastically quipped in Novo-Ogarevo, we have lost the letter "R" in the country's title.

But, joking aside, let us remember that during the referendum held in only March this year more than 76 percent of those taking part voted in favor of retaining the title "USSR," to which we and the whole world are accustomed. The apparently innocent dropping of a single letter has far-reaching consequences—at any rate the soviet basis of the state, on which the people have already delivered their verdict, now seems to be in doubt, does it not?

People worthy of respect were gathered in Novo-Ogarevo. They undoubtedly made important decisions. However, the question of the future of the Union and its political content is so fundamental that the final "go-ahead" can only be given by the people themselves. Carrying out a referendum is not cheap, of course, but the voice of the people must be heard....

...En route to Novo-Ogarevo we went through the settlement of Razdory [meaning discord]. The name was so symbolic that we exchanged glances. Might discord among participants in the meeting not overshadow the need at all cost to find accord and wrest the country and the peoples inhabiting it from the menacing crisis situation? Fortunately, that did not happen. The members of the State Council there got through the disputes and initial misunderstanding to come to a clear and unambiguous decision: Political union is necessary and there must be a Union treaty. The sooner it is signed, the more reliably and quickly we will move away from catastrophe.

Planned Merger of Security Organs Criticized

PM1911101191 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Nov 91 First Edition p 3

["At First Hand" report by Andrey Zhdankin: "Does the State Council Intend To Create an NKVD? [People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs]"]

[Text] The citizens of the state formation that is now called the USSR only out of tradition still do not know much about the "gifts" being prepared in the highest corridors of power, for example in the USSR State Council. The press provided scant information about the 4 November session. However, this affects the interests of millions of people, so ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA will try to partially fill this gap.

The editorial office has received an interesting document—"Extract from Protocol No. 4, Paragraph IV (State Council—4/IV) of the USSR State Council Session dated 4 November 1991." There is no doubt that it is genuine: It carries the seal of the General Department of the USSR president's staff in the right place and a stamp bearing the strict words: "To be returned to the Office of the USSR President's Chief of Staff (capitalization as in the original) within three days." It was sent to Gorbachev, eight top USSR officials, and also the 11 leaders of the sovereign republics.

Paragraph IV is headed "On the Situation Prevailing in the USSR Armed Forces, the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs], and the USSR Prosecutor's Office." The most interesting and significant is Section 6, Subparagraph b—"On the Situation Prevailing in the USSR MVD." We will quote it in full.

"To approve the draft resolutions 'On the Reorganization of the USSR MVD,' and 'On the USSR MVD Internal Troops.'

"To instruct Comrades V.P. Barannikov and V.V. Bakatin to take into account the opinions of the republic organs and examine proposals on the possibility of amalgamating the USSR MVD and the Interrepublic Security Service to form a single security service for the country and present coordinated proposals to the USSR State Council."

We asked Sergey Stepashin, chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet Security Committee, who headed the State Commission To Investigate the Activity of State Security Organs created by USSR presidential decree, to comment on the document. We would remind you that the commission was given the duty of presenting recommendations and conclusions for the reorganization of the country's state security organs after a careful study of the problem, but this was the first time Sergey Vadimovich had seen this document.

[Stepashin] This State Council decision is a surprise, although there has long been talk of amalgamation. The history of our law enforcement organs can show similar examples—the NKVD [People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs] and the MGB [Ministry of State Security], which brought all law enforcement functions under one roof. That was a monopoly of enormous state power and, what is more, in the same hands. And the best illustration of what this led to was the arbitrariness of the 1930's.

[Zhdankin] As chairman of the state commission created partly to reform state security organs, you should have at least been informed that this option was being examined.

[Stepashin] Undoubtedly. I think that the State Council might have asked the commission its opinion. (This is not the first time that the State Council has ignored the commission—A.Zh.) On 12 November members of the commission finally met with Gorbachev and presented the findings' main conclusions and recommendations to him. Gorbachev agreed with most of them. The documents themselves were dispatched back in October. The question arose of the possible merger of the MVD and the former KGB. We expressed our opinion clearly—this is not advisable in the present situation. The president agreed with us. Bakatin, who was at the meeting, confirmed this stance.

The opinion of our parliamentary committee and the Russian leadership (we spoke on this subject with First Deputy Premier Gennadiy Burbulis) is that the issue of amalgamation cannot be raised today. [Stepashin ends]

The opinion of the head of committee is quite adequate, but I will take the liberty of adding my own. During the reorganization of competent organs the efficiency of their work initially falls drastically. In our situation this will also mean that people start to leave these organs not in tens or hundreds, as today, but in thousands. The problem of financing and many other problems will rear their ugly heads. Even now the staffers are in a state of suspense, and the present reorganization of both the Russian and the Union KGB and MVD is still far from being completed. It is not worth speaking seriously of the idea that security organs that are as yet not too corrupt will succumb to this "ailment" after amalgamation. And as for monopoly....

Of course you could say that these are still just intentions, but they are too serious for that. We have depressing experience here, and a great deal of it.

TASS Carries Press Review for 20 Nov

LD2011095091 Moscow TASS in English 0645 GMT 20 Nov 91

["Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow November 20 TASS—The press continues to comment on the Russian president's decrees concerning economic reform. "A reform in Russia has begun, but shall we live to see that it is carried through under the present authorities?" NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA (Independent Gazette) queries.

The newspaper believes that the first series of presidential decrees and government decisions "is not only the first real step in effecting a reform but is also the first real 'package', i.e., a list of coordinated actions within the framework of a certain single scheme".

Commenting on Boris Yeltsin's forthcoming visit to Bonn, to begin on Thursday, PRAVDA's news analyst Anatoliy Karpychev points out that "this is a qualitatively new beginning in Russia's diplomacy. It would be fine if it will be of benefit to the motherland and help combine our hopes and resources. This is the main thing now".

Newspapers report that Eduard Shevardnadze has been appointed the Soviet Union's minister for external relations by a decree of President Mikhail Gorbachev.

"The time has come when the destiny of not only our country but of world peace as well is at stake. The world's future depends on how events in our country will develop. So, I decided to take a place of my own in these efforts", Shevardnadze told KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in a telephone interview.

Under the rubric "The Tribune of People's Deputy," PRAVDA carries an article by Yuriy Kalmykov, chairman of the parliamentary Council of the Union's Committee for Legislation.

"I have gathered the impression that the qualities of professional politician manifest themselves in a number of our top leaders, the president of the USSR, in particular, not as one would like them to," Kalmykov writes.

"Having launched basic reforms in the sphere of the political system and international relations and having created the necessary prerequisites for the country's democratic development, he, it seems, got confused, encountering the results of his own innovatory activity. It becomes increasingly difficult to forecast the consequences of his decisions", Kalmykov said.

Svetlana Goryacheva bids farewell to political career. The INDEPENDENT GAZETTE carries an interview that the Russian parliament ex-deputy chief gave before her departure for Vladivostok to continue to work in her previous capacity as attorney.

In SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, Sergey Pogorelskiy, touching upon Boris Yeltsin's address from the rostrum of the Fifth Congress of Russia's People's Deputies, notes a very important admission made by the president of Russia that the existence of a large social class of the unfortunate is part and parcel of an economic order which is now being established in Russia and that "their physical survival is possible only thanks to charity".

"Boris Yeltsin Has Won the Backing of Independent Trade Unions" is the headline under which RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA carries an account of a meeting between the president of Russia and Igor Klochkov, president of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia. Matters concerning the social protection of the population in the light of the liberalisation of prices were touched upon during the meeting.

Newspapers cover the situation in the country's flashpoints. In a dispatch from the city of Groznyy, PRAVDA points out that the Chechen Republic, having upheld the right to free development, is now doing its best to get out of the chaos in which it has unexpectedly found itself, without showing what a hard time it is having.

PRAVDA, RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA and other newspapers describe preparations in Moscow for the privatisation of trading and service establishments, and an economists-suggested model for the sale of state-run shops, cafes, restaurants and workshops. The privatisation programme is being brought up for the Moscow government's consideration today.

Soviet Interior Minister Viktor Barannikov admitted in an interview with the TRUD newspaper that crime "is becoming a real force capable of blocking economic and democratic reforms in the country and of stimulating an escalation of violence and instability. Organised crime penetrates state power and administration bodies and the economy ever more actively".

PRAVDA carries a reportage from the Moscow investigation ward where those arrested in connection with the State-of-Emergency Committee case are kept. The newspaper writes that "conditions in which the putschists are kept are better, it seems, than those for ordinary Soviet prisoners, and their meals are not bad, considering the current food situation." One of the pictures shows Anatoliy Lukyanov sitting at a table.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (Red Star) runs a resolution of the USSR Council of State, dated November 14, 1991, "On the status of the Soviet Armed Forces and on the ensurance of the draft of citizens for active military duty in autumn 1991".

The same newspaper carries a report by the press centres of the Soviet Defence and Interior Ministries. Actions being performed and moves being made in some republics and aimed at disrupting the system of defence, at undermining the unity of the Armed Forces and loosening centralised administration and undivided authority are qualified in the report as unconsitutional and unlawful. Those actions and moves will be "resolutely and firmly stopped in accordance with the current legislation", the report points out.

In the INDEPENDENT GAZETTE, Captain First Class Anatoliy Gorbachev, former commander of a nuclear-powered submarine, describes the state of affairs concerning the combat efficiency of the Soviet Navy. He believes that the navy "is in a disastrous position in peacetime when there is no war."

Lieutenant-General Fyodor Ladygin, chief of the Legal Treaty Department of the Soviet Armed Forces' General Staff, was interviewed by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA about proposals, which are among the well-known initiatives of U.S. President George Bush, to create a non-nuclear anti-ballistic missile defence system.

The general believes that "the question of ABM systems is a key one in the modern concept of strategic stability." He calls for a thorough analysis of both prerequisites and, more importantly, possible consequences of the development and deployment of such systems.

The situation in Yugoslavia is the principal foreign topic in newspapers' international news sections.

Economic

Fourth Quarter Emergency Budget Considered

LD2011112491 Moscow TASS in English 1006 GMT 20 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow November 20 TASS—An emergency budget of the Union for the fourth quarter of this year was considered here this morning at a meeting of the Council of the Heads of Government of the Economic Union member-states. President Mikhail Gorbachev is expected to refer it to the central parliament at noon for endorsement.

In the fourth quarter, the Union budget expenditure will run at 125 billion rubles while budget revenue is expected to amount to 30-35 billion rubles, according to Vladimir Rayevskiy, deputy minister of finance. With a 90-billion ruble deficit in the fourth quarter, the overall Union budget deficit in 1991 is expected to amount to 204 billion rubles, he added.

However, Rayevskiy said that the fourth quarter budget deficit will amount in all probability to not less than 110 billion rubles because of mounting negative economic trends when many republics cease to finance the Union budget.

"Over the past nine months, there has been a spineless drift, and no measures averting the disintegration of the Union budget were taken," Rayevskiy emphasised, expressing apprehensions that the central parliament is unlikely to endorse the emergency budget, thereby adding to the budget deficit.

Speakers at the council's meeting said the growth of the budget deficit continuously leads to an increase in the state domestic debt which now runs at 974 billion rubles.

The emission of money in November and December will amount to about 30 billion rubles, a Gosbank [State Bank] spokesman told those present at the council's meeting.

Prices Rise by 10 Percent in Three Months

LD2011093191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1300 GMT 19 Nov 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] After the victory of the liberals in the economy, prices have also become liberal. In comparison with October last year, prices of foodstuffs and of nonfood items in Moscow alone officially have increased by 2.7 times and for instance, for meat—three times, potatoes—six times, vegetables—four times, and flour—three times. Over the past three months alone, the growth in prices has amounted to 10 percent.

More Shipments of Precious Metals Abroad Revealed

PM2011141191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Nov 91 Union Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "The Shipment of Secret 'Hard-Currency Cargoes' Out of the Country Continues, But the Newspaper Has Not Yet Received Answers to its Questions"]

[Text] IZVESTIYA No. 272 last week reported that someone has been regularly shipping considerable amounts of gold and platinum abroad through "Sheremetyevo-2" Airport. We cited a number of facts corroborated by documentary evidence and asked the authorities for an explanation. While it awaits an answer, the newspaper continues its own investigation. Here is some further information we have obtained in the past 24 hours.

Last Saturday, 16 November, two flights—to Brussels and Amsterdam—carried over three quintals of "hard-currency cargoes." This time we know who sent it and the precise nature of the commodity. Palladium ingots and rhodium powder were being sent to Belgium and the Netherlands on behalf of "Almazyuvelireksport." For the benefit of nonprofessionals, let us point out that these metals are in the platinum group and are part of our visibly dwindling national wealth.

The editorial office reiterates its respect for the authorities listed in our issue No. 272 and is still waiting for an official explanation of the instances of the shipment of industrial consignments of precious metals out of the country.

Gold Shipments Said Routine, Legal

PM1911164391 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 19 Nov 91 p 1

[S. Sokolov report, including comments by Aleksey Borzunov, deputy chief of the bank for foreign economic activity association for currency and financial transactions: "Our Gold Has Been Sold. Serves It Right."]

[Text] At the end of last week IZVESTIYA intrigued everybody with its absorbing report about how, in the past month and a half, "at least five tonnes of gold and platinum have been moved abroad from the country by and for persons unknown." According to the editorial office's data, 5,213 kg of gold and platinum "flew away" in the literal and figurative sense of the word to Zurich, Amsterdam, Tokyo, Paris.... What is this—squandering the country's gold reserve, smuggling?

In order to find the owner and sender of a large proportion of the "hard-currency cargoes" all that was needed was to approach the USSR Vneshekonombank [Bank for Foreign Economic Activity]. Aleksey Borzunov, deputy chief of the Vneshekonombank association for currency and financial transactions, explained without difficulty by whom, for whom, and for what purpose 6,358 kg of precious metals were dispatched to Zurich 3 and 6 November:

"We are talking about the most commonplace and routine shipments. This follows from the aviation bill of lading, purchase order, and customs manifest which are attached to all our cargoes. And the precious metals were not sent "to persons unknown" but to our Vneshekonombank branch in Zurich. The purpose of the dispatch was normal banking transactions which are accepted in world practice and quite beneficial, in our view, for the state. And the most important thing is that all our transactions are carried out in accordance with government ordinances.

Yet to this day the owners (or owner) of another 1,592 kg of hard-currency cargoes remain unknown. One of the possible senders—the "Mezhnumizmatika" banking organization—has not addressed any such "parcels" to the West recently, Deputy General Director V. Gerasimov explained to me. P. Chernov, director of the "Platina" firm's "Almazyuvelireksport" association, does not rule out the possibility that his association is the owner of the remaining 1,592 kg, but he does not find anything criminal about these shipments: "Everything that we do takes place only with the government's knowledge."

So, there are no problems? On the gold front everything is calmly going according to plan? Not quite. It turns out that the USSR Customs Committee (where we tried to obtain comprehensive information on the movement of gold and platinum) does not possess this kind of—full—information. And this, we were told by Yu. Motsak, the committee's deputy chairman, is not the customs officers' fault. The point is that to date customs do not participate in the packing and dispatching of hard-currency cargoes. Every year dozens of tonnes of gold cross the border by air and otherwise, and customs officers have no right of entry to check the cargoes (whether, for example, gold and not bricks is really being carried in there).

Restrictions on Consumer Imports, Exports Eased

PM2011093791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Nov 91 p 6

["Supplying the Details" report by special correspondent G. Bilyalitdinova: "Customs: The First, But Not the Last Stage"]

[Text] This time the news conference at the USSR Customs Committee was a quiet affair, unlike the summer one. The reason is clear—a new customs program that can somewhow saturate the consumer market was proposed at last.

Not all the measures we proposed were adopted, Committee Chairman N. Yermakov told journalists. But this is only the first stage. It will be followed by a second and further stages, with new, equally effective decisions.

First of all customs duties and tax on imports of food, medicines, equipment for the food industry, raw materials and supplies for light industry, and implements for individual farms and subsidiary plots are being lifted, and this applies both to trade and to nontrade turnover.

Restrictions on middleman activity in the imports sphere have been lifted. Henceforth any enterprise or organization can import goods not only for its own needs, as it has in the past, but for resale on the internal market.

Restrictions on the duty-free import of gifts have been lifted. Any foreign gifts that are made can now be freely imported. All items brought in by citizens for their personal use (in other words, not for sale) no longer attract customs duty. This applies also to motor vehicles.

Our proposal on sharply increasing the amount of currency our citizens can freely (that is, without authorization, although with an indication in the customs declaration) take out of the country on temporary travel abroad to 1,000 rubles [R] (without an expenditure license) and $1,000 was approved, N. Yermakov noted. The USSR State Bank was told to adopt a corresponding decision.

The USSR Customs Committee has been given the powers to lift other unnecessary restrictions on citizens' import or dispatch of personal items to the USSR. On the basis of these powers we intend to lift the existing two-year ban on the sale of motor vehicles imported from abroad, authorize the sale of foreign cars imported with a pledge to re-export, authorize the passage of freight shipments, and also remove other bans and unnecessary obstacles in nontrade turnover.

International mail traffic procedures will change completely. Packages will no longer be opened, which will significantly speed up delivery. Moreover, there will be no duty on packages with a total value of up to $40, which is two to three times greater than the accepted norms in foreign countries.

There will also be changes when it comes to exporting and sending out of the USSR items in nontrade turnover. Export customs duty is being introduced for some consumer goods. These measures have been adopted in order to protect the internal consumer market, and here, too, it is a question of about fundamental innovations. At the moment the export of nearly all consumer goods is banned, while those that are not banned can only be exported to the value of R300. Now it will be possible to exceed these levels in exports, but while paying customs duties.

The procedure for collecting export duties will be made as simple as possible. The USSR Customs Committee will endeavor to ensure that the duty can first be paid into any savings bank, the post office, or any customs office. Work is already being done in that sphere with banks and communications offices.

Details on Gosbank Secret Accounts Published

924A0221A Moscow TRUD in Russian 16 Nov 91 p 2

[Interview with A. Orlov, chairman of the USSR Control Chamber, by Yu. Ursov: "Where is the Gold of the USSR Gosbank?"]

[Text] **"Sensational" is what the world information agencies called the report from A. Orlov, the chairman of the USSR Control Chamber, concerning the existence of two secret accounts in the USSR Gosbank [State Bank] which, by 1 January of this year, contained 51.9 billion rubles [R]. The USSR Ministry of Finance has the formal right to dispose of these immense sums. Where did this money come from? For what purposes was it to be used? These and other questions are answered by A. Orlov.**

[Orlov] All this began when the USSR Control Chamber decided to investigate the activity of the Union Ministry of Finance. Incidentally, for the first time in the entire history of its existence. They discovered two accounts—Nos. 2140832 and 314033—in the USSR Gosbank belonging to the ministry. They contained a total of R51.9 billion which were not taken into account in the country's state budget.

[Ursov] Where did they get such immense sums, which by last year's measurements are equal to almost one-fourth of the income of the Union budget?

[Orlov] I cannot answer that absolutely precisely; a deeper investigation is needed. I can say only that the statements of the leaders of the Union Gosbank and Ministry of Finance to the effect that budget residuals from past years or balances of circulating cash had accumulated in these accounts seem doubtful. Our specialists think that funds formed as a result of revenues exceeding expenditures with state budget financing of various measures being concentrated in these accounts. With this financial maneuver the funds were removed from the state budget classification and, consequently, from control. Our specialists think that the amount of the total makes it possible to speak about a deliberate policy of forming a secret budget which the USSR Ministry of Finance had been conducting for many years.

[Ursov] What is so terrible about that? After all, as I understand it, nothing criminal was found in the sources of the formation of nonbudget accounts.

[Orlov] What is criminal is that because these accounts were secret the state organs could not dispose of them. Last year the state budget deficit amounted to R60 billion. The state was forced to resort to above-plan emissions, driving up the output of inflated rubles. If the "secret rubles" had been put to use, many problems related to the market balance would have disappeared....

[Ursov] I get the impression that we are dealing simply with some kind of deliberate action for the collapse of the financial system. But why two and not one or three accounts?

[Orlov] Our specialists think that the first, the large one with R41.4 billion, was intended for accumulating funds, and the second, with R10.5, for financing operational expenditures.

[Ursov] And what was the money spent on?

[Orlov] I can speak about uncontrolled expenditure of funds only for this year. There were loans to the USSR Ministry of Railways of about R2 billion and to the USSR Ministry of Civil Aviation—R1 billion. R343 billion was returned to the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Relations.... There was R45.4 billion left in the two accounts.

[Ursov] Here is what is interesting. I know that the central departments purchased foreign currency from the Bank for Foreign Economic Relations at a ridiculously low exchange rate.

[Orlov] Probably this money, about 300 billion could be used for purchasing foreign currency but we could not verify that. After my report to specialists of the Control Chamber the central financial departments stopped giving us documents and information.

[Ursov] Are they afraid of more unpleasant discoveries? For example, secret foreign currency accounts?

[Orlov] I am almost sure that such discoveries would not surprise anyone. In addition to the aforementioned return of funds to the Bank for Foreign Economic Relations, we have information about the recent sale of 100 tons of gold abroad at a low price—only a billion dollars, while its price could have been 1.2 billion. But the most interesting thing is that it is not clear where this billion went; this sum is not mentioned anywhere, in any of the official documents we know of. Moreover, we found out that on instructions from the USSR Ministry of Finance they were trying to ship an immense amount of bullion from one of the largest gold storage facilities in the Urals. What for? We do not know. Only the intervention of the local authorities and KGB organs stopped this attempt.

[Ursov] Everything is unclear about the gold supply in general—how much, of what, where....

[Orlov] Our specialists have analyzed the situation with the gold and have come to the conclusion that the USSR Gosbank is bankrupt. On its books it shows that it has 374 tons of gold as assets. At the same time one hears another official figure—240 tons of gold. Where lies the truth? But the most terrible thing is that the USSR Gosbank has no gold at all—neither 374 nor 240 tons. The chairman of the board of the USSR Gosbank, V. Gerashchenko, recently admitted that gold has not come to the USSR Gosbank as was envisioned by last year's decision of the Supreme Soviet and the USSR Government. More secrets, more lack of control, more muddy water in which it is convenient to catch gold fish.

Moreover, about 80 percent of the USSR Gosbank assets are irretrievably invested in the budget system. The center and the republics have accumulated debts that cannot be repaid. And judging from everything, they do not intend to repay them. That means the end of the ruble and bankruptcy for the USSR Gosbank.

[Ursov] Gloomy predictions do not frighten anybody anymore....

[Orlov] These are not predictions, this is reality backed up by calculations. But there is a possibility of avoiding a catastrophe. To do so would take political harmony and economic coordination among all republics. But you understand how difficult that is to achieve....

Agricultural

Shortage of Livestock Supplies Reported

OW2011004991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2116 GMT 19 Nov 91

[From the 20 November "Soviet Business Report" transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] With supplies of animal feed steadily falling—the current supply is 17 percent down on last year's—it is unlikely that cut backs in the production of meat and milk can be reversed earlier than mid-1992.

In October, farmers sold the state an average of 16 percent less meat than a year ago, with the sharpest comparative declines seen in Georgia—62 percent, Turkmenistan—48 percent and Tajikistan—29 percent. State purchases of milk, on which most of the population depend for supplies, are especially down from last year's level in Armenia by 47 percent, and in Moldova by 21 percent.

The shortage of fodder, particularly of grain, is leading to a sharp drop in the number of pigs. This winter and spring there will be 15-16 mn [million] fewer pigs (a 20 percent drop from 1990's total) and 100-120 mn fewer poultry. Specialists from the USSR's Goskomstat estimate that, even under improved conditions, it would take at least three or four years to return poultry and pig stocks back to their former levels.

In order to meet minimal demands for fodder, at least 14 mn additional tons of soya beans and 34 mn more tons of grain feeds would be needed.

Private Farms Contribute to Food Production

PM2011101991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2155 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Report by Artem Vagin from the "Television News Service" newscast]

[Text] If it were not for private subsidiary plots, our country would have faced a dire food supply problem long ago. That is the conclusion of the USSR State Committee for Statistics. The private producer—whose claim to the land is anything but secure, those same old women and citizens of southern republics who for so long were relentlessly persecuted by custodians of law and order for speculation in places where they had no right to be—turn out to have fed almost half the country. Even on the basis of the results of last year, which was not exactly marked by a full supply, they accounted for 33 percent of all the meat produced in the country, 50 percent of the vegetables and fruit, and 35 percent of the poultry. This contribution would have been far more substantial except for the most acute problem of all—

land. Despite that and the countless other difficulties confronting the development of private farming, the number of people waiting in line to feed themselves from their own land is not going down.

Military

Further on Plan for New Strategic Troops

LD1911190991 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1450 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Excerpts] You probably know that Tatyana Chemodanova is rightly considered to be an expert on the Army and Army-related topics on Mayak Radio. She is now on a telephone link to our studio. What is the news, Tanya?

[Chemodanova] [passage omitted] A meeting with journalists, which took place at the Ministry of Defense today, has just ended. Taking part in it were Lieutenant General Valeriy Leonidivoch Manilov, chief of the Information Directorate, and Lieutenant General Leonid Grigoriyevich Ivashov, chief of the Administration of Affairs of the Ministry of Defense.

[Studio reporter] What was the topic?

[Chemodanova] They briefed journalists on the changes that have taken place in the Armed Forces recently. For instance, it was reported that a decree was issued by USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev on setting up a new type of troops in the Armed Forces. These troops will be called the Strategic Deterrence Forces [strategicheskiye sily sderzhivaniya].

What kind of troops are these? The new type is based on the Strategic Rocket Troops, the Strategic Naval Forces, the Air Force, and the Main Directorate of Space Systems [Glavnoye Upravleniye Kosmicheskikh Sredtsv]. Army General Yuriy Pavlovich Maksimov, commander in chief of the rocket troops, has been appointed commander in chief of the new type of troops. The new troops unite several structures with a view to defensive security, should such a need arise.

It was reported that a new committee for personnel work [po raboty s lichnym sostavom] within the Ministry of Defense has been set up. It is composed of the Directorate for Social and Legal Protection of Servicemen [Upravleniye Sotsialnoy i Pravovoy Zashchity Voennosluzhashchikh], the Directorate of Culture and Leisure [Upravleniye Kultury i Dosuga], and the departments for military sociological and professional orientation of cadres, technical resources, and international humanitarian links [otdela voenno-sotsiologicheskoy i professionalnoy orientatsii cadrov, tekhnicheskikh sredtsv i mezhdunarodnykh gumanisticheskikh svyazey]. The committee is headed by Colonel General (Gennadiy Aleksandrovich Stepanovskiy), former deputy chief of the Main Political Directorate. That is a proposal by the commission for the reform of the military and political structures, which is headed by Dmitriy Antonovich Volkogonov. Many journalists are interested in whether that new committee will not be reminiscent of the former Main Political Directorate. The organizers assure that it will not, that it is a completely new structure, and that new forces have gone into it, including political workers of the former Main Political Directorate. From the named directorates one can draw a full conclusion about the forthcoming new activities of the committee. Many are interested in the idea that some republics, such as Azerbaijan and Armenia, want to draw up inventories of military property on the territories of the republics.

[Studio reporter] Was that also discussed?

[Chemodanova] That question is being discussed. So far, there has not been any concrete talk about it, but in the near future we will inform you about the position of the Ministry of Defense on that question. I would now like to end my report on today's news conference at the Ministry of Defense.

[Studio reporter] Thank you very much. That was Tatyana Chemodanova. I personally am very happy about the report that the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy has been renamed the Directorate of Culture and Leisure.

Manilov Comments on Forces

LD1911202391 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] The Strategic Deterrence Forces [SDF] include all strategic nuclear forces which form components of various services of the USSR Armed Forces. Commenting on the decree on setting up these forces, Valeriy Manilov, chief of the information directorate of the USSR Defense Ministry, said that they are based on the Strategic Rocket Troops, to which are added nuclear forces from the Air Force and the Navy are added. All these components are brought together under a single directorate.

Army General Yuriy Maksimov has been appointed commander of the SDF. Until recently he held the post of commander in chief of the Strategic Rocket Troops.

Hopes for substantial economies are linked to the setting up of the SDF; such savings are extremely important for the country's Armed Forces as a whole in the conditions of the reduction of the military budget.

According to Manilov, the exclusively defensive mission of the SDF is evident in its very composition. The SDF structure takes into account the changes which will follow as a result of the realization of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the reduction of strategic offensive armaments.

State Council Endorses Council, Group Proposal

LD1911180591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1704 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow, 19 Nov (TASS)—The USSR Armed Forces stationed on the territory of the sovereign republics will remain all-Union forces. Troops belonging to civil defense units, military commissariats, sports and technical defense organizations, and military construction detachments are being transferred to the jurisdiction of the republics, states a decision of the USSR State Council received by TASS today.

The republics will finance and provide the personnel for these subunits, but the Union authorities reserve the right to use them during wartime, the decision says.

The State Council endorsed a proposal on setting up a council of ministers of defense of the sovereign states as a consultative body at the USSR Defense Ministry.

Shaposhnikov Issues Statement on 19 Nov

PM1911175191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Nov 91 Union Edition p 1

[Untitled report from IZVESTIYA, TASS, RIA, INTERFAX column]

[Text] Marshal of Aviation Ye. Shaposhnikov, USSR defense minister, issued an official statement for Soviet journalists 19 November about the Defense Ministry's position in connection with the centrifugal tendencies in the country, some republics' claims on Soviet Army and Navy combat hardware and arms, and the Defense Ministry's readiness to carry out the decisions adopted by the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and State Council regarding the unity of the Soviet Armed Forces.

There will be more details about the defense minister's statement in tomorrow's edition.

Defense, Interior Ministries Adopt Statement

LD2011094591 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0700 GMT 20 Nov 91

[By correspondent Tatyana Chemodanova]

[Text] Last night two ministries—the USSR Ministry of Defense and the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs—adopted a joint statement which says that actions are being taken in some republics aimed at destroying the defense system and undermining the unity of the Armed Forces and its centralized management and sole command. All these actions can only be assessed as unconstitutional and illegal. They will be resolutely and firmly stopped in accordance with present legislation.

For example, numerous impulsive attempts to seize the control over weapons depots, military equipment, and property, as well as buildings belonging to military units, have been made in a number of republics. The demands to hand over weapons are accompanied by threats to cut off water, fuel, and power supplies. Attacks on military units aimed at seizing weapons, armored vehicles, ammunition, and military property pose the most serious threat to stability and internal safety. In some areas there have been cases when practically the entire ammunitions and property of military units have been stolen.

It is only due to the self-possession of soldiers and officers that so far there has been no bloodshed with numerous victims. Nobody should doubt the fact that servicemen have every right to defend themselves if need be—including the right to use their weapons, as stated by law and the rules. All responsibility in such cases will fall upon the initiators, organizers, and those who carry out the illegal actions, the statement says.

This is the latest news from the Ministry of Defense and the Ministry of Internal Affairs. We will comment on this statement in our subsequent panorama, so to speak. I will end my report at this point.

Costs, Effects of Republic Armies Examined

PM1811113891 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Nov 91 Union Edition pp 1-2

[V. Litovkin article: "Whom Do the Republic Armies Intend To Fight?"]

[Text] TASS has reported, and IZVESTIYA published the report in yesterday's issue, that Ukrainian Defense Minister Colonel General K. Morozov has told the Ukrainian newspaper NARODNAYA ARMIYA (incidentally, until recently it was called LENINSKOYE ZNAMYA and belonged to the Kiev Military District) that the desire of the USSR State Council to preserve unified Armed Forces indicates "the center's reluctance to recognize political realities." And he added that the communique signed in Moscow 6 November on the results of the talks between delegations from the Ukraine and the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] confirms the right of sovereign republics to national armies and guards.

The previous day, a report came in from our correspondent in Tbilisi on a decree by Georgian President Z. Gamsakhurdia declaring all weapons, ammunition, means of transport, military equipment, and other military property belonging to the Soviet Army and located on Georgian territory to be the property of the republic, as well as a statement by Azerbaijani Prime Minister G. Gasanov announcing a decision by the republic Cabinet of Ministers on drawing up an inventory of the equipment, arms, and military property of Soviet Army units stationed in Azerbaijan.

These decisions, along with others announced from the parliamentary rostrums of independent republics with regard to the share-out of the property of the Soviet Armed Forces, raise many questions. This one, in particular: Do the decisions of the USSR State Council, which are voted for by plenipotentiary representatives of the sovereign republics, have legal force for the governments of those republics, or is this body a purely ornamental one with no binding force? Is this a continuation of the "war" against the center, or does it conceal a desire to drag the biggest republic—Russia—into the process of creating its own armed forces? How far does this bolshevik method of privatizing the Soviet Army comply with the law, and do the political leaders and the forces behind them understand what consequences it could lead to, what unpredictable results it could provoke?

But that "unpredictability" is open to serious doubt. The bitter experience of the Yugoslav tragedy is too vivid an example not to notice and to think about.

One question is no longer at issue: Why should an independent sovereign republic have its own army? Nobody now denies it that right. But the next step in the chain of logical reasoning offers serious food for thought: Whom do the republic armies intend to fight, what do they intend to defend, and against whom? The answer to that question is well known in Nagorno-Karabakh, South Ossetia, the Dnestr region... And now Groznyy.

Amid the attempts to privatize the Soviet Army's property, no one is yet asking this question: How much will it cost? Can a republic afford the "luxury" of maintaining its own armed forces? To seize a tank, gun, or missile is one thing, but to keep it in working condition, combat-ready, and—let us add a very important point—in safe condition, is a very costly business indeed. There is not only the cost of the property and combat equipment and appropriate pay for military specialists, there is also the cost of depreciation, running costs, spare parts, infrastructure, training facilities and materials, the training of the reserve, including a highly skilled reserve of officer cadres... Who will train them, and where?

Experts calculate that the value of the military property, modern combat equipment, and armaments stationed on Ukrainian territory totals 50 billion rubles [R]. Annual maintenance requires the same sum again. The republic budget deficit, as L. Kravchuk, chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet, stated in Donetsk, is also R50 billion.

No serious country or reputable bank will give us credits for the creation of republic armies, still less will they give them to a country or community where there is no unity of opinion or of practical policy on the present and future of its armed forces.

There is food for thought here.

I wish to be correctly understood, so I repeat: There is no objection to national armies, but there are doubts about the methods and speed of creating them and about civilized methods of the share-out of military power, which, in our explosive political and economic situation, could very easily, before our very eyes, turn into a share-out by means of military power, into piracy and total civil war with disastrous thermonuclear consequences.

Is it possible to avoid this? It is still possible. On condition that there is an immediate embargo on the privatization and dividing up of the Soviet Army. This must be done, of course, not for the Army's own sake, but for the sake of those who live close to its arsenals, for whom this process could result in tragedy.

The State Council will sit in Novo-Ogarevo today, and will discuss the draft treaty on political union in its first reading. But I think the main thing now, after the economic agreement, is to formulate and conclude in the shortest possible time an interstate treaty on joint defense, security, and nonaggression by one sovereign republic against another—a treaty that will have binding force.

It must be clearly recognized that we are one step away from the bloody abyss of the Yugoslav tragedy. We have to fight cold, famine, and ruin. In such a battle tanks, guns, and missiles are not a help, only a hindrance.

Transcaucasus Commander Views Privatization

PM1411161491 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

[Report by unidentified "our correspondent," plus commentary by Colonel General V. Patrikeyev, commander of the Transcaucasus Military District (MD): "There Is an Army. But Whose Is It?"]

[Text] The president of Georgia, in his 11 November decree, declared weapons, ammunition, means of transport, military equipment, military bases, and other military property belonging to Soviet Army units stationed on Georgian territory to be the property of the republic.

The processes of "privatization" of Army property are also getting under way in neighboring Azerbaijan. A republic parliament session heard a briefing on a meeting between Prime Minister G. Gasanov and representatives of the command of military units stationed on Azerbaijan's territory. Servicemen were informed of the decision of the republic's cabinet of ministers to begin drawing up an inventory of equipment, arms, ammunition, and other property held in Soviet Army units and subunits. In the event of failure to comply with these measures, the prime minister noted, sanctions may be applied against servicemen. It has become known that this means disconnecting gas, water, and electricity and blocking military transport movements.

Commentary by Colonel General V. Patrikeyev, Commander of the Transcaucasus Military District

"I cannot say that these steps came as a complete surprise to us. After the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet decision on transferring the USSR Armed Forces stationed on Ukrainian territory to the republic's jurisdiction, it was to be expected that others would take similar steps. We believe that this act is more political than practical. After all, at the 4 November USSR State Council session representatives of all the republics agreed that the Army should remain unified. Consequently any decision to transfer the equipment and arms of the Transcaucasus Military District to someone else must come from the leadership of the USSR and the Defense Ministry. Furthermore the steps being taken by the republics could to some extent destabilize the situation in the region."

Abolition Chairman Comments on New Forces

LD1911230991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 19 Nov 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] Back in August the, unfortunately, well-known political bodies were, as you know, abolished in the USSR Armed Forces. Until today it was not clear who or what would replace them. Now this is clear based on the decree of the USSR president. A committee with its own personnel has been set up at the Ministry of Defense.

[Begin recording] [Reporter K. Tochilin] The first Army political department was established in 1919. The Communist Party implemented leadership of party political work in the Armed Forces and education of the staff by means of political bodies. At present the army of political workers numbers 80,000 people. Now that army will suffer defeat.

[D.A. Volkogonov, chairman of the Commission for Abolition of Political Bodies] For a long time our country was symbolized by two institutions like the commissars and the Cheka. There are hardly any commissars left now.

[Tochilin] Yes, the political bodies have been abolished, but one cannot brush off 80,000 officers so easily.

[Volkogonov] We have not dismissed a single person. In the higher echelons, we have not proposed any redundancies of those who do not have pensions, although we considered it. A dismissed person should have a pension or an apartment or some other element of security. That is, we tried to proceed from principles of humanism, expediency, and respect for the individual.

[Tochilin] After certification of the political top brass, 20 to 25 people out of 345 will continue serving in the Armed Forces. The certification is also being conducted of the junior and middle- ranking command personnel in the political bodies. Those who get through can compete for the vacant posts in the new structure. A military political academy and eleven political educational institutions exist in the country. The military political academy will become a humanities academy. The institutions will evidently cease to exist. Graduates in 1992 will have to compete for command and engineering posts. [end recording]

Rear Admiral Views Changed Strategic Role

PM1811113991 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Nov 91 First Edition p 3

["Viewpoint" by Rear Admiral Yu. Korshunov, doctor of naval sciences and professor: "Within the Framework of Military Cooperation"]

[Text] It is now several years since a defensive military doctrine was proclaimed in the Soviet Union. Definite steps are being taken to implement it: Troop numbers are being cut, certain kinds of weapons are being eliminated, and conversion is gradually, albeit very slowly, developing within the defense industry. Nonetheless, a great deal remains unclear. Two main questions above all remain unanswered: First, who is the enemy against whom we intend to defend ourselves, and, second, for what specific purpose and to perform what functions should our Armed Forces be developed in the new conditions?

Until recently everything seemed clear in this area. The United States and its allies were the enemies. In military circles they were not described as anything but the "probable enemy." The main principles of our military organizational development were also obvious. The Army and Navy as a whole, and also their individual components, were developed so as to guarantee superiority over or at least parity with the "probable enemy." But what now?

In principle anyone with a military-industrial potential bigger than or comparable to ours could pose a threat to our security. Today and in the foreseeable future that still means the United States and its allies. But is an armed conflict possible between the USSR and the former "probable enemy"? Virtually not. Whether we like it or not, M. Thatcher is right—strategic nuclear missile weapons are today the main factor precluding a clash between the two military superpowers. Incidentally, the following question is logical here: Can the USSR and the United States be considered probable enemies at all? The response will most probably be negative. It is more correct to say, I think, that we are involuntary partners in a kind of nuclear missile "embrace."

Hence the first function of our Armed Forces, in my view, is to maintain the combat readiness of their strategic nuclear potential. It is quote obvious that what I have said is also directly relevant to the corresponding U.S. and NATO forces. There is no getting away from it, history has this kind of "military cooperation" with the civilized world in store for us. Should we try to reduce the level of nuclear confrontation? Of course we should! But that is primarily politicians' concern. It is up to the military to keep their powder dry, so to speak.

Nonetheless, a peace based solely on mutual threat, on a kind of nuclear missile embrace between the two superpowers is a prospect with little attraction for mankind. The question arises: Can there not be other forms of military cooperation—cooperation in the direct sense of the word—with our former "probable enemy"? I think that there can.

Let us try to discuss them. No one would be so bold today as to claim that Husayn was the last aggressor to challenge the world community. It proved possible to bar his way only thanks to military efforts on the part of the majority of developed countries. I think that military cooperation between the USSR and the United States and its allies must above all preclude the possibility of such aggressors appearing. This task can be accomplished by creating combined international forces—forces capable of curbing any potential aggressor. Our Armed Forces' second main function could be to take a direct, active part in these forces.

It is quite obvious that combined international forces would take action only on the basis of a UN mandate. The size and composition of these forces would depend on the specific situation prevailing in the world. Naturally, these international forces must perform all their tasks with conventional weapons alone.

As an illustration, let us try to concretize this idea in relation to one branch of our Armed Forces—the Navy. What tasks should the Navy perform within the framework of the proposed functions, what will its activity consist of, and what forces must it possess for this?

The first function is nuclear missile confrontation. In the Navy it is performed by nuclear ballistic missile submarines. Their task is to be on permanent duty in combat patrol areas. U.S., British, and French missile submarines perform a similar task. On both sides nuclear missile submarine combat patrols are supported by multipurpose submarines, surface ships, and other forces. In an endeavor to reconnoiter combat patrol areas each side regularly sends its systems there. It is always very dangerous when they come into direct contact with nuclear missile submarines and their support systems. One partial but extremely important task in the overall problem of reducing the level of nuclear confrontation is to reduce this kind of contact.

The second function is involvement in international forces for curbing aggressors. What forces will the Navy need to do that? Obviously, surface ships above all—missile ships, landing ships, and aircraft-carrying ships. Their composition, numbers, and tasks will be determined not only by the relevant international agreements but also by the country's economic potential. It cannot be denied that it would be unusual to join a common combat formation with our previous "probable enemy" and sail a parallel course. Nevertheless, this is not only necessary but also a highly important step toward our integration into the world community.

Obviously, functions considered in a similar way could be detailed with regard to other branches of the armed forces. Ultimately they will determine the thrust of their development in line with our defensive doctrine.

One final point. Will the new functions help reduce spending on the armed forces? I think they will. After all, apart from a constant reduction in the level of nuclear missile confrontation, partnership with the United States and its allies in international forces will require considerably fewer funds than the previous unlimited rivalry with them.

Estonia

Duties of Defense Forces Main Staff Detailed

OW2011094091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2040 GMT 20 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Estonia's Government approved the internal regulations of the Main Staff of the republic's Defense Forces.

During a briefing in Tallinn, Mr. Ants Laaneots, the acting chief of staff, said that the regulations were based on the 1938 Law on the Defense of the State.

The Main Staff will be directly subordinate to the Defense Council which is to exercise collective leadership of the republic's Defense Forces and which currently comprises Mr. Arnold Ruutel, chairman of the Supreme Council; Mr. Ulo Nugis, speaker of parliament; and Mr. Edgar Savisaar, prime minister. The chief of staff is appointed by the republic's parliament following the presentation of his candidacy by the Defense Council.

All of Estonia's departments and organisations dealing with defense matters will be made subordinate to the Main Staff, with the exception of the Department of Defense of the State and Border and Kodukaitse organisation which are shortly to be made subordinate to the republic's Interior Ministry.

Following the imposition of martial law, however, these two organisations, as well as other units of the Interior Ministry, will likewise take their orders from the Main Staff.

According to Mr. Laaneots, the Main Staff will be "as far removed from politics as possible" and will be responsible for operational control over the armed forces. He also said that the Estonian military doctrine is being drawn up with the participation of Estonian-born officers who used to serve in the U.S. Armed Forces.

Ministry Notes 'Reluctance' on Troop Withdrawal

LD2011004991 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1800 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] The press center of the Estonian Foreign Ministry has been disseminating news saying that Foreign Ministry representative (Clyde Kull) today sent a note to the secretariat of the conflict prevention center drawing attention to the reluctance on the part of the USSR to begin thorough talks for the withdrawal of Soviet forces and to comply with the orders concerning USSR Armed Forces, which had been agreed. The conflict prevention center was set up in November of last year on the basis of the Treaty on Reduction of Conventional Weapons in Europe, concluded in Paris, in order to analyze the situation and to produce solutions in possible seats of conflict. The Estonian Foreign Ministry's note says that this kind of inactivity on the part of the USSR hinders Estonian independence endeavors. This was reported by the BALTIC NEWS SERVICE.

Denmark's Schluter Meets Savisaar, Ruutel

PM1911163491 Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 6 Nov 91 p 3

[Jorgen Keuchel report: "Danish Model Popular in Estonia"]

[Text] Tallinn—The Danish social model is popular in Estonia. The barely two-month-old Estonian state is intent on taking over the Danish taxation system, Danish Prime Minister Poul Schluter said yesterday on the first day of the first state visit to the Baltic state by a Western government head. The Estonians, however, do not necessary need to copy Denmark's higher rates of personal income tax, Schluter was quick to add.

In a two-hour meeting with Estonian Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar, the two prime ministers discussed a long list of concrete projects in which Denmark can help the Estonians build up the state they have long dreamed of.

"This is an historic day for Denmark and for the Danes, and I am very happy to be here," Poul Schluter said, stressing that it was no mere courtesy visit.

In addition to Danish help to the Estonians to build up the necessary state institutions, such as those guaranteeing control over airspace and territorial waters, Danish policemen will also shortly be seen in Tallinn. They will advise the Estonians on how to establish a passport system. Only a few Estonians have passports, and these are Soviet passports—something that is not popular in these parts.

Schluter wants to take 450 million kroner out of the fund of 2.1 billion kroner which is expected to be set aside for aid to Eastern Europe in coming years.

During a short walkabout in Tallinn's Old Town yesterday the prime minister was able to see for himself that many more billions will be needed before Estonian society can begin to draw closer to Western standards. Even though some houses have already been painted, it is the gray tones of the worn walls that still dominate the street scene.

As a first step along a long road, the prime minister yesterday afternoon inaugurated an Estonian-Danish transport joint venture. A Danish consultancy firm, which has specialized in the establishment of infrastructure, has joined with an Estonian partner and over the next few years will plan the most rational way for the Estonians to construct roads and plan railroad and air traffic.

In addition to Poul Schluter's discussion of concrete projects with leading Estonian ministers, there was also time for a more political discussion with Estonian President Arnold Ruutel. The Danish prime minister expressed great sympathy with the Estonian concern that Soviet troops are still on Estonian territory. "It would also be in Denmark's interest if troops were to be withdrawn from the region around the Baltic Sea," Schluter said.

The state visit continues today with a visit to the port of Tallinn, which may be the starting point for a ferry link with Abenra in Denmark. This afternoon the prime minister and his wife, Anne Marie Wessel Schluter, will fly home to Denmark.

Urges Respect for Minorities

PM1911170691 Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 7 Nov 91 p 10

[Jorgen Keuchel report: "Schluter Warns the Estonians"]

[Text] Tallinn—One in three of the total of 1.6 million inhabitants of Estonia are immigrant Russians, and after 50 years of Soviet repression, the Estonians do not have a lot of time for them.

But Danish Prime Minister Poul Schluter warned yesterday, the second day of the state visit by the prime minister and his wife, that the Estonians must not fall prey to xenophobia which could threaten the new state even before it is out of its cradle.

"Respect for human rights is a prerequisite for democracy. Success in dealing positively with minorities is one of the most important questions, not only in Estonia," the prime minister stressed, adding that Denmark will follow developments closely.

The prime minister's remarks were made at a news conference after a meeting with representatives of the political movements represented in the 104-member Estonian parliament. One in four parliamentary deputies is a Russian, and Estonian plans to exclude Russians from participation in future elections were described by Poul Schluter as "very bad."

The prime minister stressed that it is the Estonians themselves who must prevent future confrontations currently smoldering under the surface. One way to avoid a tragedy like that in Yugoslavia is at an early stage to draft an Estonian constitution which gives the Russians the same citizen's rights as Estonians, the prime minister said.

During the visit yesterday there was also time to take a short look at the new Danish Embassy premises in Tallinn. Ambassador Sven Erik Nordberg is still living in a hotel room, but last Monday [4 November] he succeeded in arranging four rooms in the former Communist headquarters—also called the "White House"—for the embassy's total of three employees.

A relieved ambassador proudly showed off the premises, still gapingly empty, which were inaugurated with a can of Finnish beer, before the Danish delegation hurried on its way to the next point on the program. Together with Estonian Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar, Poul Schluter signed a Danish-Estonian investment guarantee agreement. This means that Denmark has insured Danish firms against losses in the event of arbitrary nationalization in Estonia. This is only a very small stone that has been cleared from the path of Danish industry and commerce and is hardly likely to open the door for major investments at the present time. Developments in the two-month-old state are too unpredictable for that.

The visit ended yesterday afternoon with the prime minister expressing the hope that in the coming months Danish political parties will send delegations to the Baltic region to help their as yet very young sister parties to shape Estonian society.

Latvia

Prime Minister Offers Jobs to Expatriates

OW2011092691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2040 GMT 20 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Latvia's Prime Minister Ivars Godmanis has offered Latvian emigres government posts as high as deputy minister. He was speaking before the congress of the World Organisation of Free Latvians (WOFL), one of the most influential Latvian emigre organisations, which opened on November 19 in Riga. In the prime minister's words, the emigres could contribute their experience towards the success of economic reforms and towards building a law-ruled state.

In his turn, Mr. Gunars Meierovics, chairman of the WOFL's board, stressed that it was necessary for his organisation to establish contacts with the republic's parliament and government in order to be in a position to offer help.

Moscow Rally Protests OMON Troops Treatment

PM1911134391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Nov 91 p 1

[Ye. Kazmina report: "Who Will Defend the Defenders? Only Yesterday They Were Guarding the Constitution and Country's Laws. But Now They Themselves Need Support"]

[Text] Yesterday the silence of a deserted Sunday [17 November] street in front of Latvia's permanent mission in Moscow was broken by a rally in defense of Riga OMON [special purpose militia detachment] staffers. Defenselessness in the face of arbitrariness, persecution, humiliation, and torment—in the rally participants' opinion these are the most suitable words to describe the OMON troopers' current situation.

"We demand an investigation into the actions of the Russian and Latvian Governments in relation to the

OMON troopers!"—these were the cries ringing out under the permanent mission's windows.

And there are grounds for indignation when, under the government's nose and contrary to Russia's laws and constitution, a foreign state kidnaps our citizens, arrogating to itself the right to give orders on someone else's territory. The Latvian side has not even given the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Prosecutor's Office the documents on the basis of which Sergey Parfenov was furtively extradited from Russia. His subordinates and their families are being persecuted. True, the USSR Prosecutor's Office protested these actions to the Latvian Prosecutor's Office, but the matter goes no further than words.

"Homeland," "Unity," "Revival," "Civic Accord," "Russian Center," "United Workers Front"—yesterday these and other social movements and organizations came out in the OMON members' defense.

In answer to the rally participants' speeches, the permanent mission's window curtains rustled slightly: Someone was watching. Will the Russian Government also hide for a long time yet in the same timorous way from the eyes of the people it has abandoned to fate's tender mercies?

No answer has yet been heard. So it is planned to hold another rally to protest the illegal persecution of OMON members guilty only of guarding the USSR Constitution and existing legislation.

Human Rights Chief Disagrees With U.S. Group

OW1611005191 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2030 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Andrejs Pantelejevs, chairman of the Latvian parliament's Human Rights Commission, has formally disagreed with allegations from the U.S. Helsinki Committee of human rights infringements in the republic's planned law on citizenship.

The committee's letter, addressed to the chairman of Latvia's Supreme Council Anatolijs Gorbunovs, was examined in a meeting of the Commission.

Mr. Pantelejevs told the newspaper DIENA that the commission was declining to issue an official resolution regarding the complaint, since the document came from a social organization rather than an official government body. The commission has drafted a reply, which will have to be approved by Mr. Gorbunovs. "He will send a reply to the human rights activists if he judges it necessary to do so," said Mr. Pantelejevs.

Mr. Pantelejevs believes that the Helsinki Comittee's letter is based on an inadequate understanding of the historical and political circumstances. The activists seem most concerned by the plight of those who fall under the category of Latvian residents who, according to the new law, will be subject to strict naturalization regulations (according to the draft, this affects those who have lived in Latvia less than 16 years—BALTFAX) owing to the fact that they were not Latvian citizens before 1940 and are not descended from such citizens. The deputy is convinced that "those people who are allegedly discriminated against are not in fact victims of human rights violations, since they are not being deprived of Soviet citizenship."

Lithuania

New Interior Minister Appointed

OW1911175691 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1713 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On November 19th the Lithuanian Supreme Council confirmed republican Interior Minister Petras Valiukas to his post. Before this appointment he served as the chief police commissar of Kaunas. The post of interior minister remained unoccupied since Kazimiera Prunskiene Cabinet's resignation last January. Lithuanian Premier Gediminas Vagnorius offered then several candidacies for that post, including himself (to hold two offices), but the parliament approved none of them.

Meanwhile, the Lithuanian parliament rejected the application for resignation of Minister Without Portfolio Alexandras Abisala after the Supreme Council declined his candidacy for the post of Communications and Information Minister, in Mr. Abisala's opinion, displaying non-confidence in him. Mr. Abisala is a coordinator of the Lithuanian delegation at talks with the USSR.

Further on Appointment

LD1911181191 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1500 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Excerpts] As of today, Lithuania has a new minister of internal affairs. At today Supreme Council session, 85 deputies supported the prime minister's proposed candidate Petras Valiukas. [passage omitted]

Petras Valiukas started his career in 1967 in the Moletai militia, then he served in the Zarasai militia, and at present he is the commissar of the Kaunas police. [passage omitted]

Only 20 deputies supported the resignation of Minister Without Portfolio Aleksandras Abisala. Therefore, Mr. Abisala will continue his duties. [passage omitted]

'Terrorist Acts Timed' for Ukraine Referendum

OW1911152091 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1415 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to Lithuanian Government sources, terrorist acts timed to the December 1 referendum on independence in the Ukraine are being prepared on the territory of the Soviet Union and the Baltics.

In this connection the Lithuanian Government has issued a statement saying that "the reactionary forces are ready to undertake any measures in order to preserve the crumbling empire."

The Lithuanian State Security Department, the General Prosecutor's Office and the police "are gathering mounting evidence on the reactionary forces' activities in the republic, including those of the armed underground."

Vagnorius Discusses Meeting With Silayev

OW1911151791 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1415 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Lithuanian Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius has described his last week's visit to Moscow as "the first step taken by Lithuania to defend its position on the Soviet foreign debt problem".

The problem was discussed at a meeting between Chairman of the Interrepublic Economic Committee Ivan Silayev and Baltics' representatives on November 16th.

Addressing the parliament November 19th, Mr. Vagnorius said "the Soviet side has not yet agreed with our position, but also has not rejected it."

As BF [BALTFAX] reported earlier, Lithuania guarantees paying off credits received by its economic subjects through the USSR and is prepared to further discuss the issue with the Soviet Union. However, it refuses to pay off its share of the Soviet Union's external debt.

The Lithuania premier said that high on the agenda of the talks in Moscow was also the problem of further relations between Lithuania and the new economic community. Mr. Vagnorius told the deputies that Lithuania has offered the Soviet Union to continue the present mutual shipments for the first quarter and for the first half of 1992 "in order to prevent the collapse of both Soviet and Lithuanian economies."

Landsbergis Meets Italian Prime Minister

LD2011005991 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1000 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis yesterday met Italian Prime Minister Andreotti. The head of the Italian Government expressed his [word indistinct] with the situation in Lithuania and the events in the Soviet Union.

A joint agreement has been reached concerning the relations between Lithuania and Italy, especially on cultural exchanges and trade links. The instability caused by the presence of the Soviet Armed Forces in Lithuania was also discussed. Opinions were exchanged about the situation in the Soviet Union.

The Lithuanian Supreme Council chairman also met Italian President Francesco Cossiga, Senate Chairman Spadolini, and Leonilde Iotti, chairman of the House of Representatives.

Draft for New Defense Forces Begins

PM2011104991 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Nov 91 First Edition p 2

[Report from RIA and "our correspondents" roundup under the "Diary, Events, Opinions" rubric: "Military Draft Under Way in Lithuania"]

[Text] The first draft for the newly established territorial defense service has started in Lithuania. According to Territorial Defense Minister Audrius Butkevicius, the new system is being established on the basis of the following programs: border protection; territorial defense; regular troops, the basic core of which will be made up of professionals; and a civil defense system. A national guard 12,000 strong is already in operation, as well as intelligence and counterintelligence services.

Republic To Help Army Leave; Equipment Stays

LD2011002291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0047 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow, 19 Nov (TASS)—"We will help the Soviet Army to leave Lithuania as soon as possible and we will try to organize this departure without conflicts wherenever possible," states Lithuanian National Defense Minister Audrius Butkevicius in an interview with a NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondent. Speaking about the new principles of setting up the Lithuanian defense system in today's issue of the newspaper, he notes that there are four main programs being developed by the ministry: the border defense, the territorial defense, including the formation of the National Guard, the setting up of a regular army, and the civil defense.

Answering a question on the possibility of an armed conflict with neighbors, the minister said that "there is a high probability of political terrorism being stimulated by 'good neighbours'." Apart from this, he thinks that there are complex processes under way in the Soviet military units that may become uncontrollable, particularly during the withdrawal of troops.

As for the Soviet military equipment on the territory of Lithuania, Butkevicius said that "this equipment belongs to us, since the republic has contributed greatly to the military budget of the Soviet Union."

Leader Announces Polish Districts Elections

LD1911154991 Warsaw PAP in English 2129 GMT 18 Nov 91

[By correspondent Miroslaw Ikonowicz]

[Text] Rome, Nov. 18—Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis declared Monday [18 November] elections to self-governments in two districts of Lithuania peopled by Poles would be held within six months although a date for them had not been set yet.

According to the president there was no "special tension" now in the regions of Vilnius and Salcininkai where regional councils, composed mainly of Poles, had been dissolved a few months ago.

In an interview for PAP Landsbergis expressed satisfation over the acceptance of Lithuanian citizenship by Poles living in the republic and pointed out the propaganda against this move had been futile.

Optimistic about the direction in which the relations with Poles in Lithuania were developing, Landsbergis opined that "everything was changing for the better since the very beginning of national rebirth" as not only Lithuanians but also Poles, Russians and Jews had "regained their cultural positions."

Blaming regional authorities, who had counted for the return of the Soviet rule, for ethnic problems, President Landsbergis opined the future of Polish-Lithuanian relations depended on a firm position of both governments and nations and the elimination of forces which would like to stir up national and political struggles.

Liberal Prices on Industrial Goods Introduced

LD2011001991 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0900 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Liberal prices for industrial commodities and services have been introduced today in the Baltic Republic of Lithuania. Earlier food prices were unfrozen. The state, however, preserved the right to establish fixed prices for some kinds of commodities depending on inflation rates.

Addressing the Lithuanian parliament, Prime Minister Vagnorius said he did not see any reason to worry, for, according to him, there would not be any gigantic jumps in prices preventing people from buying commodities. Many Lithuanians are likely to think otherwise. Last week all commodity shops were almost empty.

Dissolution of Communist Property Announced

LD1711062691 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 0200 GMT 16 Nov 91

[Text] A number of governmental decrees have been announced governing the transfer of Communist Party and former communist organization property to governmental structures and municipal authorities in the capital, Vilnius, as well as on the periphery. These property includes office buildings, hotels, garages, and cars. This is done in accordance with parliamentary law.

Confiscation of Property Hurts Labor Party

PM1511170791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Nov 91 Union Edition p 2

[Nikolay Lashkevich report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Communist Organizations Remain Propertyless"]

[Text] Vilnius—After long debates the Lithuanian Supreme Council has adopted the Law "On Confiscating the Property of the Lithuanian Communist Party (CPSU) and Former Communist Organizations."

From the moment of the law's adoption, all deals concluded by these organizations with various joint-stock companies and physical and private persons involving the transfer of any party property are deemed null and void. The government is instructed to seize the property of the Lithuanian Communist Party (CPSU), the Lithuanian Communist Party, and Komsomol [Leninist Communist Youth League] organizations.

It is clear that the main blow was delivered not to the Communist Party, which is currently headed by that fugitive from justice M. Burokievicius (the party is demoralized and banned anyway), but to the Democratic Labor Party, the former reorganized Lithuanian Communist Party.

The left-wing faction representing the Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party in parliament has stated that it will refrain from parliamentary activity if the forced nationalization of party property gets under way. Party leader A. Brazauskas stressed at a news conference that the law is not so much a juridical document as a political document. According to him, the Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party is not a "communist organization" and it renounced communist ideology two years ago.

Leader Cited on War Criminals 'Rehabilitation'

LD1611011491 Moscow TASS in English 1659 GMT 15 Nov 91

[By correspondent Sergey Kuznetsov]

[Text] New York November 15 TASS—Reports that have recently appeared in the American press on the rehabilitation in Lithuania of people involved in wholesale massacres of Jews during the Nazi occupation triggered stormy indignation in the Jewish communities of the United States and other countries.

Chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Vytautas Landsbergis, currently on a private visit here, assured leaders of the American Jewish committee here on

Thursday [14 November] that the process of exoneration would not be "indiscriminate".

According to Landsbergis, the Lithuanian authorities have already dismissed about 500 applications for rehabilitation, submitted by people suspected of war crimes. Nevertheless, he did not rule out the possibility of a "few cases" when people, able to conceal their crimimal past, were wrongly exonerated.

"It seems that the Lithuanian authorities have embarked upon the correct road in the question of rehabilitation," member of the leadership of the American Jewish community Shula Bahat told TASS. On the other hand, expressing the view of several representatives of U.S. Jewish organisations, attending the meeting, director of the international relations department of the National Consultative Council for Relations in the Jewish Community Abraham Bayer said: "Apparently, the Lithuanian president could have expressed regret and apologised for the participation of Lithuanians in these crimes".

Director of the Simen Wiesenthal Centre Marlin Hayer was even more critical. In an interview with the WASHINGTON POST, he said that his centre possesed documents on the rehabilitation in Lithuania of "at least 11 men, who, we are absolutely sure, are war criminals. There may be hundreds of other such cases".

Remarks 'Incorrectly' Reported

PM1811095791 Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 7 Nov 91 p 2

["Own Information" report: "On the Rehabilitation Question"]

[Text] At a briefing yesterday in the Supreme Council, parliamentary press attache A. Azubalis announced that certain foreign mass media had incorrectly interpreted V. Landsbergis' comment during his meeting with S. Alber, vice president of the European Parliament. They are reporting that V. Landsbergis allegedly admitted that persons who participated in genocide during World War II are being rehabilitated. A. Azubalis explained that the chairman of the Lithuanian Republic Supreme Council had merely said that if convincing evidence is produced that these persons took part in crimes against humanity, their cases will be sent for supplementary investigation or a new investigation will be started.

Resolution Notes Government's 'Illegal Actions'

LD1711063191 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 0200 GMT 16 Nov 91

[Text] Announcement has been made of the parliamentary resolution on state budget implementation adopted this week noting that, in surpassing its competence and violating laws, the government has been responsible for certain illegal actions in budget implementation. By certain decisions, the government is in effect carrying out the adopted laws and introducing new taxes, even though this is within the parliamentary competence exclusively, and allocating budget funding even to unregistered organizations. The State Control Department has failed to carry out its function in this respect as well. The parliamentary resolution offers appropriate recommendations.

Party on Leader's Alleged KGB Ties

LD1711053891 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 2000 GMT 16 Nov 91

[By correspondent Virginijus Miciulis]

[Text] Today, [word indistinct] the presidium of the Independence Party Council published a statement in connection with the accusation by certain newspapers of this party's leader, Virgilijus Cepaitis, of colloboration with the KGB. The statement is concluded with the following words: Until such time as official conclusions have been obtained confirming similar accusations, the Independence Party will follow the course of presumption of innocence and will assess [words indistinct] Lithuania's politicians in the same manner —according to their actions and not in accordance with the opinions of KGB officers, or their co-workers, or co-thinkers.

This evening a news conference was held at the Supreme Council Building by Gintaras Songaila, deputy chairman of the Independence Party. He disclosed that today, also, a meeting was held by the Independence Party Council, which in fact, examined this question. The meeting lasted very long, from 1100 to 1700. A discussion was held on whether authorization of Virgilijus Cepaitis, as the party's chairman, should be suspended until such time, as official conclusions are announced, or to leave everything as is. The second decision was adopted and Virgilijus Cepaitis remains the Independence Party's council chairman at least until the official announcement of the conclusions is made. By the way, the following formula was also put to a vote at this party council meeting: to acknowledge that the Independence Party Council Chairman Virgilijus Cepaitis colloborated with the KGB and to remove him from membership of the Independence Party. Out of the 32 who participated in the vote, only four voted in favor. Thus, the Independence Party did not declare a no confidence vote of Virgilijus Cepaitis as chairman.

[Word indistinct] he himself has appealed to the Commission of Deputies, which deals with investigating KGB activity, requesting it to also objectively investigate this situation. Gintaras Songaila noted that currently the Independence Party holds approximately 700 members and approximately 300 supporters. "Should the facts, which some newspapers are attempting to present informally, be corroborated, Independence Party's activity and authority would undoubtedly be undermined," observed Gintaras Songaila. He also remarked that to date no one has presented any documents on any official instance. "We think that those individuals who have organized this action are trying to keep their hands clean," said Gintaras Songaila. He also reported that at the start of today's Independence Party Council meeting, Virgilijus Cepaitis himself declared that he had decided to suspend his [word indistinct] authority as council chairman. In the course of the discussion, however, another decision was also adopted, about which I have already informed you.

Well, moreover, as you have probably already heard, on the Panorama program on 18 November, Virgilijus Cepaitis intends to appeal to the Lithuanian general prosecutor requesting a formal charge be drawn up against him.

KGB Building Takeover 'Scandal' Reported

LD1511134891 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 0200 GMT 14 nov 91

[Excerpts] Lithuanian deputy Prime Minister Zigmas Vaisvila did not deny but even acknowledged that there have been disorder and misunderstandings in the takeover of the former KGB building, property, and documents. According to him, each commission, group, or institution is to blame for this. The latest events were described by the deputy prime minister as a spectacle. For the past two months Lithuanian deputies have been saying that the KGB story is an international scandal. Darius Tarasevicius reports:

Questions continued yesterday in parliament for over three hours about disorder in the former KGB building. These questions were asnwered by Minister of National Defense Audrius Butkevicius, and Zigmas Vaisvila, deputy prime minister and general director of the State Security Department.

Butkevicius reported that from the very first day, over 14,000 people passed by the National Defense officials guarding the building. Each day the building was be visited by 120-130 officials, including 60-90 former KGB officials visiting the building in connection with dismissals from work. The minister of national defense claimed that his 25 officials were unable in such conditions to protect the building. [passage omitted]

He stressed several times that his men were responsible only for the protection of the building. Inside, where at least four independent structures are working, it was impossible to ensure protection. [passage omitted].

Zigmas Vaisvila confirmed that he had several times given permission for the removal of documents from the building, but gave assurances that they were registered in detail. In the same way some articles were distributed. All other events were not sanctioned, and the perpetrators should be punished, the deputy prime minister said.

It is in these and other events that the Lithuanian deputies were interested, because they have been described almost each week in the Lithuanian press. In their questions and statements the deputies accused the deputy prime minister of poor organization of the protection and the stocktaking of the documents.

Yesterday's attacks were supported not only by the leftist and centrist forces. Zigmas Vaisvila also failed to enjoy support from the right, too.

Meanwhile, deputy Jurgis Jurgelis, member of the commission for the investigation of KGB activity, yesterday made yet another statement. He again stated that documents were take away on 5 and 10 September. I expected effective actions that would help elucidate the facts, and not only about the handing over of material to the Procuracy. These documents are linked to state secrets. If it is legally proved that the documents were taken away, I will express my no-confidence in you as the head of the State Security Department, Jurgis Jurgelis stated. Not only he, but many other deputies were not satisfied with the statement given by Zigmas Vaisvila that all facts were being investigated by the Procuracy, that criminal proceedings have been instituted, and that the perpetrators would be punished.

A specific name was mentioned by the deputy prime minister only once, when he stated that one deputy had attempted arbitrarily to distribute weapons found in the building. Zigmas Vaisvila noted that he had received an explanation from the Ministry of National Defence that deputy Aleksandras Ambrazevicius, head of the governent commission for control over of the weapons, was responsible for this. All the weapons have now been returned, but their inventory documents have not yet been received, the deputy prime minister stated. He did not, however, reply to a question on the purpose of the 20 machine guns received by the State Security Department that were taken over from the KGB, only 10 of which have been allocated to the Ministry of National Defence.

According to the deputy prime minister, all main archives and the agents' files were removed from the KGB building a year ago, or even earlier. But some things are worth protecting: Documents of historical and intelligence value, files on criminal cases and interrogation material.

Minister of National Defense Audrius Butkevicius told the deputies that there were piles of various empty KGB forms which could easily have been taken away and completed.

All perpetrators, when their guilt is proved, would be dismissed, Zigmas Vaisvila stated. He also noted that he is able to cope with his duties. [passage omitted]

Some deputies have prepared a statement of no-confidence in the deputy prime minister: He is accused of failing to discharge his duties. [passage omitted]

Supreme Soviet

Decisions Adopted; Republic Election Dates Set

LD1811214791 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2100 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] The Presidium of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet has decided that Russia's State Committee for Statistics is to take under its control the entire material and technical basis of the USSR State Committee for Statistics effective 18 November this year.

The Presidium also adopted a decision according to which the Russian Chamber of Commerce and Industry is to be the successor to the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry with regard to the property and funds situated on the territory of the RSFSR and outside it.

The Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet also agreed to the dates proposed—namely in December—for electing presidents in a number of republics of the Russian Federation, in particular, Mari El, the Mordovan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, Chuvash-Yen, and the Yakut-Sakha Soviet Socialist Republic.

Deputy Chairman Receives Japanese Delegation

LD1911154291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1400 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Report by correspondent Nikolay Artemyev from the Russian White House]

[Text] Filatov, first deputy chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet, received a delegation from the Japanese Hokkaido Prefecture headed by Governor Yokomichi about an hour and a half ago here. An exchange of opinions on issues of developing Russo-Japanese relations took place. Sergey Filatov told his guests about the socioeconomic and political situation in the country and in the Russian Federation. The Japanese expressed satisfaction about the fact that relations between the countries have continued to improve since the defeat of the August putsch. The Hokkaido Prefecture's readiness to expand economic cooperation with the regions of the Soviet Far East was confirmed.

The first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet confirmed that the Russian leadership recognizes the existence of a territorial problem. He noted in particular that in recent times understanding of the need to resolve it have been ripening in the public conscience, however various opinions exist on this point. The first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet came out in favor of further dialogue on this issue.

The press service of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet informed journalists of the details of this meeting and about another event. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet has just ended in the White House. On its agenda was the issue of the latest decrees by the RSFSR president, in particular of those among them which envision a pay increase for the employees of budgetary organizations. It has become known in journalistic circles that the Commission for Social Policies expressed serious reservations with regard to this decree.

For the time being, this is, unfortunately, all of the information about the presidium since its work took place behind closed doors. As far as parliamentary work is directly concerned, deputies of the Supreme Soviet were working in committees and commissions today, as they usually do on Tuesdays. Separate sittings of the chambers are planned for tomorrow.

Foreign Economic Activity Decree Criticized

OW2011005091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2116 GMT 19 Nov 91

["Cover Story" from the 20 November "Soviet Business Report" transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] **Yeltsin's Decree on Liberalizing Foreign Economic Activity Is Criticized**

The Presidium of the RSFSR's Supreme Soviet has decided to submit the presidential decree "On Liberalizing Foreign Economic Activity" to the Russian parliament for examination. Leonid Gurevich, chairman of the parliamentary subcommittee on foreign economic activity, in an interview with Interfax, pointed out some important flaws in the decree.

The Decree Would Have Only an Indirect Impact

The key shortcoming of the decree, in Gurevich's opinion, is that it would have only an indirect influence. Most of its clauses boil down to simply instructing the government to draw up various regulations which would come into force on January 1 or later, Gurevich said. Furthermore, by issueing such a vague decree, Yeltsin—Gurevich argued—has once again only postponed taking key decisions in the field of foreign economic activity.

Gurevich also expressed the fear that in such vital areas as setting the rules for the compulsory sale to the state of a portion of an enterprise's hard currency earnings (in effect, a confiscation of some of their profits), the decree would allow the government and Gosbank too much freedom of action.

The Decree Is Contradictory

Several clauses in the decree contradict one another or are juridically ambiguous. From the text, for example, it is not clear whether the liberalized regulations regarding hard currency operations apply only to banks or to all concerns which engage in foreign economic activity. On the other hand, the deadline for introducing the decree's ban on hard currency being used for the keeping of accounts and the issuing of payments between juridical persons and between juridical persons and Soviet citizens is given in one clause as January 1, and in another as July 1, 1992.

The Decree Causes Uncertainty

Because of the indirect impact of its clauses and the contradictions they contain, Gurevich believes that the decree will only intensify a feeling of uncertainty among those who enage in foreign economic activity, rather than create a favorable climate. Experts in Russia's parliament, in fact, predict that the volume of goods coming on to Russia's domestic market will soon be curtailed. And even if measures to encourage their flow are taken after January 1, it would take two or three months for the situation to improve.

Conclusions

In the opinion of the parliament's experts, the decree's shortcomings are the result of the fact that the concept of foreign economic activity in itself was poorly thought through, and thus it is not surprising that no logical linkage exists between the individual measures it outlines

Experts Will 'Thoroughly Check' Yeltsin Decrees

OW1911221791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2042 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] From now onwards a group of experts will thoroughly check on President Yeltin's decrees to ensure that they correspond to the current laws, IF [INTERFAX] was told in the Russian parliament.

This decision has been taken by the Presidium of the Russian Federation's Supreme Soviet in view of the fact that Boris Yeltsin's first decrees, especially the ones dealing with the economic reform, had provisions going against the law.

The Presidium resolved that the decrees already passed would be neither cancelled nor suspended. Instead they would be adjusted in line with a newly-developed procedure.

According to well-informed sources, adjustments will be made in the earlier-adopted laws on enterprises and entrepreneurship, and on collective agreements, and in the resolutions on the Russian Federation's State Valuables Department.

Deputy: Founding 'Izvestiya Concern' Illegal

OW1911221191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1748 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Sergey Belozertsev, said that the resolution of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the foundation of the Izvestiya concern was illegal.

He said that reorganization of newspaper and publishing complexes was a juridical act referring to administrative and economic activity, and that the Presidium had no powers or rights to deal with it. Mr. Belozertsev also said that in violation of the Law of the Russian Federation on Enterprises and Entrepreneurship, this decision had not been discussed with the personnel.

Mr. Belozertsev believes that the resolution also goes against the anti-monopoly law of the Russian Federation.

Besides that, according to his sources, the meeting of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet which was reportedly held on October 17, 1991 and which allegedly took the decision to establish this concern, did not take place at all.

In Mr. Belozertsev's opinion the law was violated exclusively to appoint Ivan Laptev, who represents the Movevent for Democratic Reforms, to the post of the concern's director-general.

The concern's charter, writes Mr. Belozertsev, reserves for this concern the possibility of being involved in political activity, all of which goes against the laws of the Russian Federation.

Mr. Belozertsev made the conclusion that on the rubble of the former Communist Party the new economic structures are usurping the property belonging to Russia and to worker groups. In the new setting, the emerging economic structures will safeguard the interests of the parties and movements which are the Communist Party's successors, and possibly use the party's money, including foreign bank accounts, obtained illegally, Mr. Belozertsev said in conclusion.

Federation Affairs

Yeltsin Says Russia To Pay All of Union Debt

LD2011113191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 20 Nov 91

[Text] The president of our republic will begin his visit to Bonn tomorrow. Boris Yeltsin met with a group of German journalists this morning. He said that the aim of his visit is to establish direct relations between the new Russia and the new Germany. The Russian leader noted that he has no intention of asking for anything during the visit. At the same time he said that Russia will pay the whole of the Union's debt, apart from those debt commitments concluded after 15 November this year without Russia's participation.

Boris Yeltsin expressed confidence that our republic's economy will be stabilized by fall of next year. "I would not have taken on the leadership of the government if I did not believe that. I want all the people of Russia to believe it, too," Boris Yeltsin stressed.

Yeltsin Aides Reject Report on Launch Codes

LD2011003291 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 2244 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] presidential staff officials reject a report in INDEPENDENT that Yeltsin is followed everywhere by an officer with codes used in launching nuclear missiles. The daily INDEPENDENT published the report on November 18. The RSFSR president, said RSFSR presidential staff officials, is exercising control over nuclear weapons on the same grounds as the presidents of other sovereign republics are.

ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA Texts Decrees

On Ministry Reforms

PM2011111991 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 19 Nov 91 First Edition p 2

[Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Government Resolution No. 8 dated 15 November 1991: "On the Organization of Work in Connection with the Elimination of Ministries and Other Organs of State Management of the USSR"]

[Text] In connection with the elimination of ministries and other organs of state management of the USSR the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Government resolves:

1. Property that is in the use of the ministries and other organs of state management of the USSR that are being abolished is to be included in the reserve of the RSFSR Government.

Property assigned to state enterprises, organizations, and establishments located on RSFSR territory that are part of the system of ministries and other organs of state management of the USSR to be abolished, including buildings, structures, and other property located abroad, is to be transferred to the jurisdiction of the corresponding RSFSR organs.

2. The RSFSR Ministry of Economics and Finances is to determine within one week the procedure and the volumes of funding for the activity of the Union structures being transferred to the jurisdiction of RSFSR ministries and departments, which are part of their system of enterprises, organizations, and establishments located on RSFSR territory and financed from the funds of the USSR state budget.

The RSFSR Ministry of Labor and Employment of the Population is to establish, jointly with the RSFSR Ministry of Justice, the procedure for resolving questions connected with regulating the labor relations of working people of the said Union structures.

[Signed] B. Yeltsin

On Salary Increases

PM2011154191 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 19 Nov 91 First Edition p 2

[Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic presidential decree: "On Increasing the Wages of Working People in Budget Organizations and Establishments"]

[Text] For the purposes of increasing social protection for working people employed in health care, educational, cultural, and scientific organizations and establishments, in law-enforcement organs, organs of management, and other organizations with budget funding and reducing the gap between the levels of labor remuneration for working people in production and nonproduction sectors I resolve:

1. The size of the existing wage rates and salaries for working people employed in health care, educational, cultural, and scientific organizations and establishments, in law-enforcement organs, courts, organs of management, and other organizations with budget funding is to be increased by 90 percent effective 1 December 1991.

The rates and salaries approved by the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Government or, on its behalf, by other organs and increased by the size of the compensation introduced in April 1991 in connection with the increase in retail prices are to be increased.

The RSFSR Ministry of Economics and Finances is to submit for examination by the RSFSR Government proposals on the procedure and sources of funding for expenditure on these purposes, with a view to attracting both budget allocations and funds outside the budget;

The RSFSR Ministry of Labor and Employment of the Population is to draw up and submit to the RSFSR Government in 1992 measures aimed at improving labor remuneration for working people in establishments and organizations with budget funding, with a view to increasing differentiation in labor remuneration depending on the working people's qualifications and the quality of their work.

2. Organizations and establishments with budget funding are to be granted the right independently to establish the forms and systems of labor remuneration and to determine the size of allowances, additional payments, bonuses, and other payments of an incentive nature, as well as their structure and staffing complements, regardless of the ratios of the numbers of working people of different categories.

3. The governments of the republics within the RSFSR and the organs of executive power in krays, oblasts, autonomous formations, and the cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg are to be granted the right, when seeking additional funds, to increase out of the appropriate budgets the rates and salaries of working people employed in organizations with budget funding.

4. The RSFSR Government is to determine within a week, by agreement with the USSR Ministry of Defense, the procedure and conditions for increasing the salaries and wage rates of servicemen and working people in enterprises and organizations of this ministry.

[Signed] RSFSR President B. Yeltsin
The Kremlin, Moscow, 15 November 1991

On Labor Dispute Settlement

PM2011161191 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 19 Nov 91 First Edition p 2

[Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic presidential decree: "On Social Partnership and the Resolution of Labor Disputes (Conflicts)"]

[Text] For the purposes of creating a system of social partnership in the sphere of social-labor relations and resolving labor conflicts under conditions of the transition to a market economy I resolve:

1. The annual conclusion of general agreements on socioeconomic questions between the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Government and plenipotentiary representatives of all-republic associations of trade unions and employers is to be put into practice at republic level. The sides' commitments in the sphere of the population's employment, the phased enhancement of social guarantees for citizens, social protection for the most vulnerable groups of the population, and ensuring growth in working people's incomes as the economy is stabilized and the republic socioeconomic programs are realized are to be defined in these agreements.

2. It is to be deemed expedient, as of 1992, to conclude trilateral sectorial tariff agreements between organs of state management, trade unions, and representatives of owners (employers), making provision in them for the sides' mutual commitments governing social-labor relations in the spheres of organization, labor remuneration, social guarantees, and the hiring and firing of working people and ensuring increased production efficiency, stronger labor discipline, the prevention of labor conflicts, and also the observance of working people's interests when carrying out privatization. The agreements must be aimed at observing economically substantiated correlations between the growth in labor remuneration, taking the reform of retail prices into account and the increase in the volumes of output being produced. The agreements must not worsen working conditions, violate the social guarantees established by legislation, or run counter to it.

3. During the demonopolization and privatization of the economy, sectorial concerns, associations, and other combinations of enterprises, regardless of the forms of ownership, are to be granted the right to conclude sectorial tariff agreements on behalf of representatives of owners (employers). Responsibility for creating the socioeconomic and organizational conditions necessary for the sectors' efficient development is to be provided for in the statutes of unions and organizations representing the owners' interests.

4. The RSFSR Government is to be entrusted, within a two-week period, with:

forming a republic commission to examine and conclude a general tariff agreement and sectorial tariff agreements and to settle labor disputes (conflicts), consisting of representatives of the RSFSR Government, trade unions, and employers;

defining the commission's legal status, its operating procedure and conditions, and the procedure for representing the sides' interests and attracting independent experts;

drawing up and approving the procedure for preparing and examining general and sectorial tariff agreements for 1992.

5. RSFSR ministries and departments, concerns, corporations, associations, and other combinations which have received the right of sectorial representation, regardless of the forms of ownership, are to set up within a month sectorial commissions consisting of employers and trade union representatives to prepare draft agreements and settle labor disputes (conflicts).

The republic commission determines, where necessary, the specific representatives of economic, social, and other state organs of management in the work of the sectorial commissions.

6. In order to resolve differences of opinion over agreements and over labor disputes (conflicts) that arise, the republic commission and the sectorial commissions are to be granted the right:

to monitor the fulfillment of the terms of the corresponding agreements by organs of state management, enterprises, associations, and organizations, regardless of the forms of ownership and departmental allegiance;

to involve leaders and working people of RSFSR ministries and departments, associations, concerns, corporations, and other combinations of enterprises in work on resolving collective labor disputes (conflicts);

to submit proposals on instituting proceedings against officials who fail to ensure the fulfillment of agreements reached on the settlement of labor conflicts;

to visit, in accordance with established procedure, associations, enterprises, and organizations, regardless of the forms of ownership, and to be familiarized with the working people's working, social, and domestic conditions, as well as with reports and statistical and other documents and materials.

7. The republic commission and the sectorial commissions are to examine within one week the causes of collective labor disputes (conflicts) and adopt decisions on their validity.

If the terms of the agreement are observed, conflicts (strikes) are deemed illegal.

8. A service for resolving labor conflicts is to be set up under the RSFSR Ministry of Labor and Employment of the Population and is to be entrusted with monitoring progress in the fulfillment of concluded agreements, studying the causes of labor disputes, and eliminating them.

The RSFSR Government is to elaborate and define within one month the legal status of the said service and the procedure and conditions of its functioning.

This decree is to be brought into force the moment it is signed.

[Signed] RSFSR President B. Yeltsin
The Kremlin, Moscow, 15 November 1991

On Lifting Wage Caps

PM2011162991 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 19 Nov 91 First Edition p 2

["Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Presidential Decree on Lifting Restrictions on Wages and Increasing Consumption Funds"]

[Text] With a view to creating conditions to enhance workers' labor activeness I resolve:

1. To lift as of 1 December 1991 restrictions on wages and on increasing consumption funds.

To establish that enterprises and organizations decide the amount of consumption funds autonomously within the limits of the money that they earn in accordance with the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Law "On Enterprises and Entrepreneurial Activity."

To recommend that the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium abrogate Point 6 of RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Resolution No. 1043-1 of 19 April 1991.

2. To lift the restrictions on the amount of wages to which regional rates and northern allowances are added.

The RSFSR Ministry of the Economy and Finance and the RSFSR Ministry of Labor and Employment are to submit for ratification by the RSFSR Government a procedure for funding spending on these purposes, bearing in mind the requirement for budget appropriations and extrabudgetary funds and also the extension of the rights of enterprises, organizations, and establishments located in the Far North and areas where northern allowances are paid when deciding the amounts and the procedure and terms for payment of these allowances.

[Signed] RSFSR President B. Yeltsin
The Kremlin, Moscow, 15 November 1991

On Minimum Wage

PM2011165991 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 19 Nov 91 First Edition p 2

["Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, RSFSR, Government Resolution No. 5 of 15 November 1991, Moscow. On the Procedure for Introducing a Minimum Wage in the RSFSR"]

[Text] The RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Government resolves:

1. To set a minimum wage of 200 rubles [R] per month as of 1 December 1991, taking into account the compensation introduced as of April 1991 in view of the increase in retail prices.

The minimum wage does not include supplementary payments and allowances or bonuses and other incentive payments.

Specific wage and salary rates and the correlation between the pay of categories of personnel and workers in different professional and skill groups are determined at enterprises by the terms of collective contracts.

2. That the RSFSR Ministry of Labor and Employment formulate and submit to the RSFSR Government proposals concerning the procedure for the periodic review of the minimum wage according to changes in the minimum consumer budget and the socioeconomic situation in the republic.

3. That a normal workweek of no more than 40 hours be introduced as of 1 January 1992.

The reduced workweek based on a six-hour or five-hour workday remains the same as before—36 or 30 hours respectively.

It is laid down:

that the minimum hourly rate:
for a 40-hour workweek is 119 kopeks;
for a 36-hour workweek is 132 kopeks;
for a 30-hour workweek is 158 kopeks;

the coefficients for converting hourly wage rates into monthly wage rates are as follows:
169.2 for a 40-hour workweek;
152.3 for a 36-hour workweek;
126.9 for a 30-hour workweek.

4. That the minimum wage be introduced using enterprises' own funds (incomes) and using budget appropriations at budget-financed establishments and organizations.

The RSFSR Ministry of the Economy and Finance is to determine the procedure for and sources of funding for expenditure for these purposes for budget-financed organizations and establishments.

5. To lay down that the size of compensatory supplementary payments (for working conditions deviating from the norm, for evening and night work, etc.) is to be determined by enterprises independently, but must be no less than the amounts set by the corresponding decisions adopted by the RSFSR Government or other organs on its instructions.

Incentive payments (supplementary payments and allowances for high qualifications, professional skill, and reduced manning, bonuses, awards, etc.) are to be determined by enterprises autonomously and disbursed within the limits of available funds. The size of and terms for these payments are determined by collective contracts.

6. Existing conditions for the remuneration of workers which this resolution makes no provision for changing remain in force.

[Signed] B. Yeltsin

Yeltsin's Economic Decrees, Resolutions Viewed

PM2011162591 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 19 Nov 91 p 1

[S. Razin article: "Boris Yeltsin's Fall 'Putsch.' Ten Decrees That Shook the World"]

[Text] The market marathon, about the need for which democrats had been talking for so long, started 15 November for Russia. That day B. Yeltsin signed a package of 10 presidential decrees and government resolutions on the real transition to a free economy.

The whole package of radical measures can be broken down into three key blocks. First of all, undoubtedly, mention should be made of the shattering knockout blow to Union structures. Henceforth Russia is taking control of all financial organs on its territory, including the USSR State Depository for Valuables and the USSR Ministry of Finance Main Administration for the Production of State Notes, Coins, and Orders. According to the Russian Government's Resolution No. 6, the USSR Ministry of Finance has also passed away and its surviving components will be transferred to the charge of Vice Premier Yegor Gaydar, who is in direct charge of the single RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Ministry of the Economy and Finance. The point of concentrating such power in the hands of the Russian reforms' ideologist is not just to accelerate their implementation but also to "unseat" the monstrous sector of the military-industrial complex. It seems that only now that finances are passing firmly into Russia's control is there a good chance of severing the "militarist umbilical cord" and finally breaking the totalitarian empire's backbone. Under three other documents signed by Yeltsin almost all Union ministries and departments are to be abolished as from 20 November, while strategic minerals—oil, diamonds, and precious metals—are to be completely transferred to the charge of the Russian Government, which has acquired new trump cards in relation to the center and certain intractable republics. In the immediate future Russia intends to review licenses and quotas for the export of "black gold" from the republic.

Thus Yeltsin has taken over the full panoply of economic power at a stroke. Experts, including the most radical economists, are declaring in unison that the president of Russia has finally made up his mind to utilize the well known set of measures which have rapidly boosted the economy in many countries. The decree "On the Liberalization of Foreign Economic Activity on RSFSR Territory" will undoubtedly play a key role. In essence, the conditions for introducing internal convertibility of the ruble are to be created on Russian soil in the next few days. The ridiculous restrictions on the purchase and sale of foreign currency for rubles—including restrictions affecting citizens—are being lifted, commercial banks are to receive foreign currency powers, and taxes and duties on imports of food, consumer goods, and other products are being scrapped.

Obviously, these measures will increase the influx of goods into the depleted Russian market. Economists are citing a highly encouraging figure: While so far imports to Russia have amounted to around $1 billion a month, now no less than $3 billion is expected. Initially this will revive the ruble, if only in a small way. According to forecasts, its rate vis-a-vis the "magic greenback" should stabilize at 1:50. Evidently the term "wooden" will soon be forgotten, because Yeltsin has banned all sorts of settlements in freely convertible currency. True, hard-currency stores will switch to trading for rubles only from 1 July next year, but this delay is an enforced one and is designed to avert a shock fall of the ruble to the level of 1:300, which could quite easily happen through stores' foreign currency earnings being abruptly replaced by "wooden" currency. Incidentally, this nuance will give cause to make adverse mention again of former Premiers Ryzhkov and Pavlov: It was this "duo" that legalized trade for freely convertible currency in the USSR in the summer of last year, thereby shattering the ruble, which at that time had quite a respectable exchange rate of 1:20. Surely that is sabotage?

A highly important point has disappeared from the decree on the liberalization of foreign economic activity, a point which could have accelerated the influx of Western capital into the country. In the draft decree, foreign firms were allowed to open ruble accounts in Russia without any restrictions. The point of this venture became clear back at the time of the big scandal of the 140 billion rubles. Russia would get a lot of goods and food, while Western partners would get a lot of rubles and the right to invest them in any sectors of the domestic economy. Unfortunately, this scheme has been frozen for the time being.

The third theme running through Russia's package of market documents should surely have been called the first. Social protection for the population on the threshold of total price freedom is one of the most acute problems. I think that there is every chance of avoiding a hunger revolt: Wages are being almost doubled in budget-funded institutions, and all wage restrictions are being lifted in nonbudget organizations. The guaranteed wage has been set at 200 rubles a month. Another decree is of still greater significance—the decree on social partnership. By all accounts Gaydar's team is perfectly acquainted with all models of capitalism. The countries prospering most are the ones where there is a balance between the three main forces in the economy—entrepreneurs, trade unions, and the government. Thus Russia intends to live in the market by the same rules as Japan and Germany.

Things appear to be moving. I venture to suggest that within two to three months the choice of goods in our stores will start to increase, and prices will ultimately start to slide. No doubt there will be a new leap in the progress of the reforms when extensive privatization begins and real estate, raw materials, and the means of production enter commodity circulation. Experts reckon that by that time the ruble's exchange rate will have reached the record level of 1:10 and a strong united economic area will have appeared on the former USSR's territory. At least, Yeltsin's policies seemingly have two aims now—to support Gorbachev's efforts to create a union of sovereign states and at the same time to revive Russia's economic might as soon as possible. With these two trump cards up his sleeve, President Yeltsin is entitled to count on the special sympathies of the leaders of the "Big Seven."

Commentary on Government's Economic Decrees

PM2011140591 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 19 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

[Leonid Lagin "commentary": "Russian Government Intends To Act Decisively"]

[Excerpts] The first session of the new Russian Government was held on 15 November. It was chaired by President B.N. Yeltsin. In the afternoon the government participated in the work of the Russian Supreme Soviet, when Yeltsin, Gaydar, Shokhin, and Burbulis submitted measures drawn up by the government to implement radical reforms and answered deputies' questions.

Just a list of the decrees and resolutions signed by the president gives an idea of the fact that the new government intends to act decisively. The combination of words "we have entered a risk zone" was mentioned repeatedly, meaning that, although the economic situation in Russia is exceptionally complex, particularly in respect of the food supply, it is simply impossible to delay radical reforms any more. This would be disastrous both for the economy and for the politicians and could result in a curtailment of democratic transformations. [passage omitted]

Of course, we must all be well aware that higher wages do not mean higher living standards. Bank notes, even if there are very many of them, will not take the place of bread, milk, shoes, and shirts. Liberated prices will "go crazy," and individual goods will end up beyond the means even of the highly paid. Let us remember, however, that having been freed from the state's tutelage and concern, we will at last understand that we must rely on ourselves alone. Liberalizing prices and lifting restrictions on wages will prompt every one of us to get a move on in this life. God grant that order arises out of chaos.

The presidential decree on liberalizing foreign economic activity on the territory of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic is expected to ensure an influx of foreign investments and goods.

So, we will all leap into the cold water of elemental market forces any day now. We have stood indecisively on the bank for a long time, but maybe we have really done enough shivering: The water will not get any warmer, for winter lies ahead.

USSR State Depository Now Russian Body

LD2011052991 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1800 GMT 19 Nov 91

[From the "Vesti" program]

[Text] The USSR State Depository for valuables has been transformed into the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] State Depository atttached to the Central Bank of the Russian Federation. This decision was adopted by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. The RSFSR Central Bank is instructed to start accepting the valuables and property of the USSR State Depository.

Russian Development Bank Established in Moscow

LD2011004891 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0900 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] A Russian development bank is being set up in Moscow. It will serve the foreign firms that are ready to reach out to the Russian market and to invest in the republic's economies [as heard]. Cooperation will be given by the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development as well as by other prestigious international financial organizations. Experts note that the new Russian bank is beginning to operate in conditions when the leadership of the republic has decided to open its economy and to lift practically all bans on contacts with foreign partners.

Customs Committee Chief Describes New Service

LD1911115691

[Editorial Report] Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian at 1345 GMT on 18 November broadcast a 14-minute recorded interview with Anatoliy Sergeyevich Kruglov, head of the Russian Customs Committee, by correspondent Anatoliy Fedorov.

The interview began with Kruglov saying that the main aim of the customs service today is to assist the radical economic reforms being carried out in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR].

"I should point out that in connection with the declaration on sovereignty, many state structures have already been set up in Russia; as far as the law enforcement bodies are concerned, bodies such as the RSFSR Customs Committee, they were the last to be set up. I do not think this is very good at all, because there are a very large number of problems relating to the customs today following the secession of some republics, the Baltic republics, for example," he said, adding that the committee has two functions: the so-called fiscal function of levying duties and the law enforcement function combatting contraband.

Customs revenue has increased considerably in the recent period, Kruglov noted. "Last year something over 90 million rubles [R] was spent on maintaining the USSR customs service, including salaries. The same year, the Sheremetyevo customs section alone brought in R96 million to the state budget in unplanned revenue. So that the Sheremetyevo customs section alone in effect covered the cost of the entire customs system last year." The program drawn up for the operations of the RSFSR Customs Committee has five main areas, to be implemented in the five-year period 1991-95, Kruglov pointed out. "One of the main areas is the development of the internal and border network of customs bodies and their infrastructure, with the aim of ensuring that goods are fully declared, and of creating conditions for introducing the law on the procedure for entry and exit of citizens." So far, he noted, Russia's customs service numbers somewhere around 192 customs establishments and customs posts, with somewhere around 7,000 customs personnel. At the same time, the crossing points on the state border leave something to be desired: Russia at present does not have a single crossing point which meets modern demands. There is a huge amount of work to be done, therefore, to build and fit out border customs posts.

"The prime task facing us here, first and foremost," Kruglov says, "is to equip the border with the Baltic republics. Our calculations suggest that 50 customs posts are needed there. Some have already been set up, but the fact is that the situation is very strained there. Some Baltic republics have introduced higher procurement prices even for meat, and—we have just had a report from Kaliningrad oblast—entire herds are being driven across our border into the Baltic republics. Given our scanty consumer market, this will inflict very perceptible economic damage on our republic.

"The second area is to set up and utilize a unified information system of state customs control; that is, in effect, computerization of Russia's entire customs service," Kruglov said. "This will enable the Russian Government to be provided with complete statistics on foreign economic activity by the second half of next year. Another area of activity is the development, production, and supply of the basic means of customs control: at present the equipment used is imported. Time will be needed for this, and "for the time being we are compelled to ask the Russian Government for foreign currency—or perhaps it is better not to ask for it but to use the foreign currency we earn—to buy customs examination equipment abroad."

Kruglov then turns to the training and retraining of customs personnel. "In the near future, next year, for instance," he says, "we plan to open 14 border customs posts and 51 internal customs houses. We reckon this will need somewhere around 2,500-3,000 people." Kruglov added: "We want to propose to the minister of defense, given that in the near future there will be cuts in the Soviet Army, that officers should be attracted into work in the customs service."

The fifth and last area of activity is development of the welfare and social sphere for customs personnel. This will include setting up small commercial enterprises under the Russian Customs Committee, to earn extra money under market conditions, Kruglov said. Entrepreneurs and commercial operators must work together with the customs service: "If they help to develop the customs serice to the full with credits, to build customs posts and crossing points on the border, they will thereby help their goods to pass through as rapidly as possible," he noted. Those who accommodate the customs service, Kruglov said, "will, we do not hide the fact, be given preferential treatment, but it will all be within the law. Their goods will be processed at customs first, and we have other ways to help rapid customs processing of goods from those commercial structures which help us to build and equip border customs posts."

Correspondent Fedorov then asked about the existence of state borders in the current instable political situation today. Kruglov said he is a firm supporter of the customs union that currently exists; any introduction of more borders throws the country further into economic chaos. "It is no secret that even today, during customs processing of foreign trade goods, the Soviet Union loses somewhere between 6 and 10 percent in freely convertible currency on the value of foreign economic freight." Creating customs establishments on borders with other republics will multiply this sum and hold up the passage of desperately needed goods.

Asked how the Russian Customs Committee will function in regard to the USSR Customs Committee which so far exists only on paper, Kruglov stressed the need for an interrepublican coordinating body and for a legislative body in the guise of a customs tariff council. Russian customs staff today earn an average of R600-700 to start with, Kruglov noted, adding that he earns about R2,100.

The interview ended with Kruglov giving a brief account of his career in 18 years in the customs service and of his personal life.

Local Affairs

Chechen Government Reportedly Resigns

LD2011145491 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1300 GMT 20 Nov 91

[Text] The Government in the Chechen Republic has resigned. This follows the recent election of the president and of the new parliament. The wave of meetings that swept through the republic is dying down, but now there are reports of economic chaos. Most of the former economic structures are not functioning. Economic contacts are disrupted. There are no deliveries of goods into the republic and there is a shortage of food and commodities in the cities.

The leaders of the republic regard the situation as an economic blockade on the part of Russia. The Chechen parliament even said that in such conditions it refuses to conduct any talks with the delegation of the Supreme Soviet of Russia.

Khasbulatov Appeals to Checheno-Ingushetia

PM2011145591 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 19 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

["Appeal of R.I. Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, to the Peoples of Checheno-Ingushetia"—ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA headline]

[Text] Dear compatriots and fellow countrymen!

Checheno-Ingushetia, which is close to my heart, is living through a complex, tragic period. I feel with deep pain the dramatic events taking place in my home region. I appeal to the peoples of the Chechen-Ingush Republic at this difficult time to display prudence and wisdom, restraint and calm, to do everything possible to prevent an interethnic split in the land of our forefathers, and to ensure a normal life for old people, children, and all compatriots.

My sincere wish at this complex historical time is for you to display your best qualities of mind and defend justice. The chief thing now is to forget past grudges and to unite, because only together is it possible to surmount any obstacles.

Do not allow new human dramas and tragedies to come about; do not cancel out people's hopes of joy, happiness, and peace in their own home! History has proved that self-isolation inevitably leads to a loss of genuine national values, and this cannot be disregarded when deciding your children's fate today.

The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, its Presidium, and the president of the Russian Federation, as you have already seen for yourselves, are making attempts to settle by political means and methods the conflict that has arisen. We must sit around the negotiating table, having surmounted mutual misunderstanding, and find points of contact to resolve fundamental questions in the life of Checheno-Ingushetia. We must not defer this problem of vital importance, which threatens to turn into a real human catastrophe.

Reason must triumph! It is necessary to restore peace and concord to every home of the freedom-living people, who are esteemed in the country and occupy a worthy place in the history of our homeland's national revival. I believe in this, just as I believe that, hand in hand, the sovereign Chechen-Ingush Republic within Russia and the other peoples of the North Caucasus will join as equal partners the new Union of states that is being created in the country on the basis of a confederation.

Yours, R.I. Khasbulatov

North Caucasus Railway Traffic Resumes

LD1811170591 Moscow TASS in English 0941 GMT 18 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Igor Peskov]

[Text] Moscow November 18 TASS—The situation on the North Caucasus railway has been fully normalised this morning. All freight and passenger trains run according to schedule, and congestions that developed at stations and between them in view of the latest developments in the Chechen-Ingush Republic have been eliminated, a spokesman at the Railway Ministry's traffic control service told TASS.

Over the past 24 hours, there have been no mishaps on the other railways of the country, the spokesman added.

Wet snow that may hamper railway traffic and the transportation of coal brings about certain difficulties for the northern railway workers (Vorkuta). However, snow-ploughs have been fully readied for operation should the need arise.

Socially the situation on the Transbaykal railway remains strained in view of railwaymen's demands for better working and living conditions and for the provision of food. They reported this in an open letter to Russia's President Boris Yeltsin on Saturday [16 November].

Transbaykal railwaymen set up working committees and the operation of the railway may be paralysed if their demands for the provision of the region with food are not met. Railway traffic continues there so far as usual.

Deputy: Russia May 'Lose' Northern Caucasus

OW1911172091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1510 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Soviet Peoples' Deputy Khamzat Fargiev from Checheno-Ingushetia told "INTERFAX" in an interview that if Russia cannot solve the Ingush problem, she will lose the entire Northern Caucasus. He explained that part of the Ingush problem concerns the return of some of its neighboring territory which is historically Ingush, but presently belongs to Northern Ossetia.

Fargiev said that last week he had been part of a delegation of executive peoples' deputies from all levels of Ingushetia at a meeting with the first deputy chairman of the Russian government, Gennadiy Burbulis.

Fargiev noted that during the meeting the Ingushes expressed their dissatisfaction regarding the law on the rehabilitation of repressed peoples, which the government has yet to put into practice. This law, according to a decree by the Russian Government, should be carried out by the end of this year.

In Fargiev's words, Burbulis asserted that in the near future the government would determine a way to realize this law, and asked the participants of the meeting to do everything possible to prevent an Ingush campaign into Northern Ossetia. "We kept our part of the deal," Fargiev said, "the campaign scheduled for November 16th did not take place."

Foreigners Demand Consulates in Khabarovsk

OW1911222891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1748 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Diplomats from the Peoples' Republic of China have arrived in Khabarovsk to open a Chinese General Consulate. However, they cannot begin to fulfill their obligations due to a lack of apartment space around the office.

The U.S., Japan and South Korea have all stated their intentions to open consulates in Kharbarovsk. For city authorities, however, there are many difficulties connected to opening consulates. The head of the department for international relations in the Kharbarovsk region executive committee, Vladimir Chupin, told an "INTERFAX" correspondent that the Americans, for instance, are demanding that each of their diplomats receive a 100 square meter apartment with garage. "In our situations," Chupin admitted, "its not so easy to meet their demands."

Demilitarization of Kola Peninsula Demanded

LD2011115891 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 20 Nov 91

[Text] The Movement for a Nuclear Free North is carrying out an action aimed at the demilitarization of the Kola Peninsula. On the line is Yuriy Arkhipov, our Murmansk correspondent:

[Arkhipov] Despite the fact that the Red Banner Northern Fleet has slightly opened the curtains of secrecy and allowed into its domain deputies and independent experts who carried out an ecological inspection of its subunits, and that the president of Russia signed instructions on ending nuclear arms tests at the Novaya Zemlya test range, the Murmansk oblast remains—and probably will remain for a long time—the most militarized kray of our country. It is no joke to say that there are 300 nuclear reactors on the peninsula and they are used mainly for military purposes.

Therefore, the Movement for a Nuclear Free North thinks that the peninsula is still a test range for the use of the civilian and military atom. Spent nuclear reactors from nuclear submarines and the waste fuel of warships present a particular danger. There is also a danger from vessels with nuclear power engineering units of the Murmansk Maritime Fleet, which are repaired in docks situated 2,000 meters from the city center.

Taking all of that into account, the Movement is taking an action which consists of the following:

The Movement published an appeal in a local newspaper. It is short and I will read it: I—the first name and surname are given—demand that the nuclear arsenal on our Kola Peninsula should be reduced, that there should be permanent monitoring [kontrol] by the Committee for the Preservation of Nature and by independent ecological associations of military installations which are polluting the nature of the North.

It is not difficult to predict the reaction of the Red Banner Northern Fleet to such an action. The military will behave as if nothing has happened, and Felix Nikolayevich, as the commander of the Fleet is called, most probably will not learn of such epistles, unless of course, he happens to hear this bulletin.

[Announcer] By way of an addition to this material we report that of the overall number of reactors, only four are in the Kola nuclear electric power station. Their capacity is 440 megawatts each.

Militia Guards Krasnodar Radio, TV Center

LD2011003891 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Since 15 November there has been a special regime for entry to Krasnodar radio and television center. Our Krasnodar correspondent, Tatyana Povolzhskaya, has the details:

[Begin Povolzhskaya recording] Militia officers are on duty alongside the securitymen at the entrance. Why is the militia at our facility, I asked Aleksandr Georgiyevich Saprunov, head of the militia's criminal service of the kray internal affairs directorate. He said that in connection with the aggravation of relations among nationalities, the public order situation has become more difficult. Under these conditions, the Ministry of Internal Affairs leadership decided to put under guard especially important installations, including the radio and television center.

In the first nine months of this year the overall crime level rose by 11 percent in Krasnodar Kray. The work of the Criminal Investigation Department increased even more, by 16 percent. The foothills rayons of Mostovskoy, Labinskiy, Uspenskiy, Kurganinskiy, Otradnenskiy, and the town of Armavir are particularly worrying. The events in Checheno-Ingushetia and other Caucasus regions are reflected primarily in these rayons. At the suggestion of the Internal Affairs Directorate, the little soviet [malyy sovet] of the Krasnodar Kray Soviet of People's Deputies adopted a decision that in order to assist the internal affairs departments, funds for the upkeep of detachments of Special Purpose Militia Detachments [OMON] should be set aside in the kray budget for 1992. The little soviet instructed the kray internal affairs directorate to submit to the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Ministry of Internal Affairs a proposal for the establishment of OMON stationed in the town of Labinsk.

I am very pleased with this decision, said Aleksandr Georgiyevich Saprunov. We are planning that the OMON numbers should be no less than 300. It is now very important that the RSFSR Council of Ministers, to which the members of the little soviet have turned, should make provision in the republican budget for additional appropriations for the upkeep of the Labinsk OMON.

North Ossetian Border Said 'Heating Up'

LD1911235491 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2155 GMT 19 Nov 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] The atmosphere is heating up on the border between North Ossetia and the Chechen-Ingush Republic. According to information provided by the Ossetian side, during the past few days armed persons of Ingush nationality have appeared in villages in Prigorodnyy Rayon, where a state of emergency is in force. They are demanding the eviction of the Ossetians and are hindering agricultural work. In the opinion of the Ossetian side, the extremists are trying to exacerbate the situation and to set the two people against each other. The North Ossetian leadership has adopted a decision to set up a state committee for self-defense and a republican guard as a part of the Russian National Guard.

So we are having to pay for the mistakes of the country's former leaders. This is hard but necessary, and it is now important to extinguish the blazing seat of conflict or else we will have a permanent Nagorno-Karabakh on the borders of all of the Caucasus.

Burbulis Loses Power as Sverdlovsk Deputy

OW1911222691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2042 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Sverdlovsk regional soviet has deprived people's deputy of the regional soviet, Gennadiy Burbulis, of his powers. The decision was motivated by the fact that Mr. Burbulis, Boris Yeltsin's first deputy chairman, mostly worked outside the region and has lost contact with the electors.

Mr. Burbulis was people's deputy of Yekaterinburg's Leninsky district, and his candidature was proposed for the post of the regional soviet's chairman last April. But during the election he was defeated by the current chairman of the regional soviet, Vladimir Vlasov.

Sverdlovsk Official on West's Privatization Aid

AU1911160691 Duesseldorf HANDELSBLATT in German 19 Nov 91 p 11

[Bernd Ziesemer report: "Western Advisers To Help With Privatization"]

[Text] Sverdlovsk—Western banks and enterprise advisers are to play an important role in the future in the privatization of large Russian enterprises. This view is advocated by Vladimir Sokolov, chairman of the Sverdlovsk Committee for the Administration of State Property.

In the first stage, about 100 state enterprises with a book value of 8 billion rubles are to be privatized in the Ural district, which is one of the most important industrial regions of the Soviet Union. Sokolov and 29 colleagues of his are responsible for an area that is half as big as Germany.

East German Experiences Taken as an Example

The committee is to work in line with the example of the Trust Agency in the new lender. Sokolov: "I think that East German experiences with privatization are very important." "We cannot manage this task on our own," Sokolov stressed in an interview with HANDELSBLATT. The committee in Sverdlovsk (which was recently renamed Jekaterinburg) is "practically flooded" with applications for privatization.

The list of priorities of the doctor of economy comprises, among others, the Uralmash heavy machinery combine, the Ural steel pipe works, and a factory for car tires. An important precondition for privatization has been fulfilled: "The quarrel about the issue of ownership, which repeatedly blocked solutions in the past, has been clarified unambiguously," Sokolov said.

His committee is now solely responsible for all privatization projects in the Sverdlovsk Oblast. Only in particularly important cases does the central Russian Committee for the Administration of State Property in Moscow reserve the final decision for itself.

Direct Negotiations With Foreign Investors Planned

Sokolov objects to the widespread view that at first only shops, restaurants, and small enterprises will be privatized. It is important for the entire national economy to break up the existing monopolies and to establish a share market. Large combines, such as Uralmash, must be divided into small and medium-sized companies as quickly as possible.

At the political level, the view that privatization must yield incomes that are as high as possible for the state treasury often dominates. "For me the establishment of a functioning market economy is more important than the idea of high fiscal income," the Sverdlovsk committee chief stressed.

The privatization of large enterprises is inconceivable without foreign investors, Sokolov said. Direct negotiations for sale with interested persons from abroad are preferable. In case of doubt, however, the committee will also organize auctions, in particular to sell smaller objects with a chronic deficit as quickly as possible.

Even if forecasts are based on optimistic assessments, the process of privatization in the area of Sverdlovsk will be completed in seven to 15 years at the earliest, Sokolov continued. It is particularly difficult to evaluate the existing state companies and to assess their future prospects realistically.

"Our biggest problem is a lack of professionalism," the committee chief said. The Russian banks are not strong enough to organize the process of restructuring the state industry: "I am firmly convinced that we must use foreign banks."

Resistance Against the Retreat of the State

Sokolov admitted that both in the state companies themselves and among the population there is still great resistance against denationalization: "Some people still believe that one is betraying one's homeland if one sells a company to a foreign investor."

Privatization is not only an economic process but "the development of a new culture." Without work to convince the population, the forthcoming tasks cannot be fulfilled. According to the Sverdlovsk committee chief, some state companies are determined to continue the old way by "fake privatizations." Thus, the property is, for instance, formally transferred to the staff, even though the "Yugoslav model" has long failed in practice.

In Sokolov's view, the staff should generally receive only a minor proportion of the shares. Only restaurants and shops could be transferred completely to the ownership of the work collectives. Sokolov criticized the fact that the legal bases for privatization in Russia are still insufficient.

What one needs, above all, are clear regulations on private ownership of land. Better conditions must be established to guarantee foreign investments. Thus, in the future it will be necessary, for instance, to use Russian natural resources as guarantees for investors.

No Russians in Yakutia Presidential Election

LD2011070691 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0300 GMT 20 Nov 91

[Text] A presidential election is taking place today in Yakutia. There are four candidates for the post, three Yakuts and one Evenk. The Russians, who make up 70 percent of the republic's population of over 3 million, have not presented a candidate. This was stated at a news conference on 19 November by (?Innokentiy Ignatyev), the Yakut-Sakha Soviet Socialist Republic's permanent representative in Moscow.

International Affairs

Yeltsin on Relations, Settling Germans in Volga

AU1511153891 Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 15 Nov 91 p 3

[Interview with President Boris Yeltsin by Maria Huber and Christian Schmidt-Haeuer; place and date not given: "We Are Really Standing on the Brink of the Abyss"]

[Text] [DIE ZEIT] Boris Nikolayevich, you will be visiting Germany during one of the—as you yourself said recently—"most difficult moments of Russian history." As what are you coming: as Russia's envoy or as an "honest broker" of the future union of states? What can the FRG still do for either side?

[Yeltsin] I am visiting the FRG at the invitation of chancellor Helmut Kohl above all as president of Russia. I am very grateful to the chancellor for this invitation, in particular since I received it on 19 August; that is, during the putsch. My main goal is to establish a direct dialogue between Russia and Germany—a dialogue, above all, regarding the economy and agriculture, the social and scientific-technological fields, science, and culture.

Regarding the union: As a member of the State Council and president of the largest sovereign state of the union I cannot be indifferent to the issues that will be broached in Germany afterwards. Nevertheless, I do not intend to act in the name of the union or on behalf of some union organs. Regarding the "honest broker": I would like to act as an honest mediator, as a mediator between German business circles and ours.

[DIE ZEIT] Russian business circles?

[Yeltsin] Russian business circles. What do we want? Perhaps you think that I will now give you sums for which I will ask or beg there. Do not hope for that.

[DIE ZEIT] We do not, Boris Nikolayevich. You have never begged.

[Yeltsin] I have never begged and never will. I want to contribute to what Chancellor Kohl declared as the goal before his latest election: that Germans and Russians should understand each other once and for all and should come to a constructive partnership.

We know that we are in a crisis. We are practically going through the most difficult moment of our history in all fields now, but we see that the Germans have some difficulties too. At the same time, we see the interest in the Russian market, in the enormous raw material resources, in our 150 million people. Our cooperation can have very good prospects. The role of the republics is now rapidly growing, and the role of the center is increasingly diminishing. We say "center" more or less out of habit, but it is only a coordinating organ now.

[DIE ZEIT] The center has left a bad legacy, including the economic treaties that still put your republic at a disadvantage—in business with natural gas, for instance. Will you express a desire for changes in this connection?

[Yeltsin] First I would like to say that Russia guarantees the payment of its own debts and of the union's debts. If two or three republics of the former Soviet Union should refuse to pay their share, then Russia is prepared to take on their responsibilities to preserve the reputation of the Soviet Union in this regard.

Regarding business: Of course, we cannot start from scratch again. We will stick to the contracts that were concluded between the union organs and the German partners, in particular regarding government agreements. This is precisely what the role of the "honest broker" demands. Regarding natural gas and other raw materials, we would like to conclude our own contracts while considering all agreements, the question of to what extent the German side can change its calculations, and the fact that our gas industry is in a serious crisis.

[DIE ZEIT] Recently the idea of reestablishing the Germans' autonomous republic on the Volga, which was dissolved by Stalin, has been pursued with great zeal, but is it actually possible to keep the majority of the 2 million Germans in the country? Does the resistance by the people who live on the Volga today not show that good intentions might soon lead to a new ethnic conflict? Do you predict an agreement with Bonn, which has some good prospects nevertheless?

[Yeltsin] This is a very serious question. I would say the process has been set in motion; it keeps going, and that is the main thing. It is not true that the entire population in Saratov and in the area around Volgograd are against this process, certainly not, but much water has flowed down the Volga over the past decades. The regions there are inhabited today. Therefore, it is difficult to find an area for a compact settlement of the Germans.

You know that we have supported the founding of German settlements near Omsk and in a number of other areas, the formation of German districts with the cultivation of German culture. Of course this is only part of the solution. For the coming days we plan decisive consultations with the heads of the areas of Saratov and Volgograd. I will meet with representatives of the German associations, and then we can decide which territory in the Volga area is the most sensible to be made available for the settlement of the Germans.

Germany would then help the settlers to improve their situation, and afterwards, the question of the national-territorial order can be solved. Step by step, autonomy is possible. This is what I have already said, and I do not retract my words. A corresponding document can also be signed in Germany, but all that has to be thought through further.

[DIE ZEIT] There are questions that one does not like to ask....

[Yeltsin] Then let us proceed to the next one.

[DIE ZEIT] This is not quite necessary, because it is a problem that Russia's Government did not create. Do you predict a speedy decision regarding the Honecker case?

[Yeltsin] I have started to deal with this question. In the past I did not do that because Gorbachev took care of it, with certain organs, to be more precise: with the KGB. Now I have examined the issue together with the USSR Foreign Minister Boris Pankin as to the approach we have to take.

Honecker has not asked for political asylum, and you have a certain claim to him. There is another problem, however, a moral problem—the problem between Gorbachev and Honecker. When I managed to get through the legal implications I came up against this barrier. I talked to Gorbachev and he said: "I have a moral obligation toward him, which it would be very difficult for me to ignore. If Honecker said that he was not against it, then it would not be a problem."

If there were any indication that Honecker—he is almost 80—would be simply retired, one could probably convince him. Work to convince him is being done constantly now, also by Pankin himself, but he is stubborn. We understand that no one can give him any guarantees because only the court is responsible. This is the legal side of this question.

Since I have not given any guarantees to Honecker, I myself would.... But he is under Gorbachev's protection. You must also understand my situation. I am able to make decisions on many problems now without asking Gorbachev, on almost everything, but several things remain which I cannot decide. I cannot take Honecker, grab hold of him, and bring him to you. The world would then probably condemn me morally for that, but I continue work and I do not say that there is no way out. I simply continue to work in this direction, but I cannot simply give you a guarantee today.

[DIE ZEIT] The Germans sympathize very much with the fate of your country. They ask with great concern, in particular this week: Is Russia—because of the conflict surrounding Chechen-Ingushetia—now being threatened with a Balkanization or at least with dissolution into a confederation?

[Yeltsin] Of course not. There are problems that have developed now—because of democratization, because of the surging emotions of national dignity, because of the nations' right to self- determination, which is anchored in the constitution—but I would not dramatize the situation, in particular since so far no blood has been shed in Russia. No blood—even though there are 130 nations and ethnic groups, 130! Nevertheless, so far there has not been a war in our country. I think that the president's decree was a very serious warning also to Checheno-Ingushetia and has played its role. But I made a statement just recently that I think the decision of the Supreme Soviet to suspend the state of emergency was correct.

I think that together we will be able to prevent the republics in Russia from committing violence, from shedding blood—may God prevent that—somewhere. We will place the relations with the sovereign republics within Russia on a contractual basis, but there is one border that we will not cross—that is Russia's unity.

This means: Checheno-Ingushetia as a part of Russia! No one, not even Tatarstan, has declared official secession from the Russian Republic, but the movement toward the greater independence of these republics, in the direction of contractual relations with Russia—this is logical. The possibility to preserve Russia's unity is harbored in this historical situation, and we will preserve it!

[DIE ZEIT] However, the Chechens have already said that the Russian empire must crumble together with the Soviet empire. Other minorities are cheering them on, and everybody is swinging the green flag of the prophet.

[Yeltsin] Of course, the religious factor plays a very big role—the fundamentalism that comes from the south. It is no coincidence that representatives from Iran and from Syria came to the inauguration of Chechen General Dudayev. We must think about plans for defense. I do not mean this in the sense of those fortresses that the czar established—in addition to Cossack belts that made the country safe toward the south.

[DIE ZEIT] The Cossacks would like to do that again now.

[Yeltsin] Yes, but so far we have said that the Cossacks should act as a sociopolitical organization—not as a territorial-administrative organization.

[DIE ZEIT] Cossacks and czars—the potential heir to the throne of the Romanovs has just visited St. Petersburg. What should Russia do about its history? Accept the legacy of the old society, reestablish historical legitimacy and the political institutions that existed before the Bolsheviks? How can one find a balance at all so as not to be considered a nationalist and also not to be slandered as an enemy of patriotism?

[Yeltsin] We do not say that Russia should accept the legacy of the union in every respect. Even though some of our politicians say so, as president I do not think that this is politically correct. It is another matter if we are simply forced to take over some institutions in this connection. Let us take the important example of the USSR Academy of Sciences. A center such as in the past will not exist anymore, and basic research would not be financed by anyone. This involves hundreds of institutes. Thus, the general assembly of the Academy of Scientists has decided to transfer itself to Russia's jurisdiction.

[DIE ZEIT] Your program, which is to make Russia the engine of economic reforms, has immediately met with widespread resistance. Your conservative opponents are raging against the release of prices and fan the existential fear of the poorer strata. Will you have to eliminate parts of this therapy as a result?

[Yeltsin] Certainly not. First of all, we foresaw the protests of the dying CPSU. This was one of the reasons that I issued the decree about the abolition of this party on Russian territory on 6 November. Now it does not have any function of power anymore, but of course it will continue to sabotage everything and frighten the people with the bogeyman of entrepreneurship- privatization-market. But its dogmas will not be of much use anymore. More important for us is the question of whether the people will be able to tolerate price liberalizations. A total of 55 percent of Russian families live at subsistence level. The free prices will skyrocket, and a saturation of the market with goods cannot be achieved in any way by the middle of next year. Things will be better probably only by autumn next year. We are worried whether there will not be mass dissatisfaction. Of course, the reactionary right will take advantage of this situation and will incite emotions.

Therefore, if we institute price liberalization, we will also have to raise wages. In production the people themselves must decide on the wage level. Matters are more difficult for the authorities, institutions, and low-income groups—there the Russian state must help the poorer people. Even before the introduction of free prices we will raise minimum wages, minimum pensions, grants, and social welfare allowances. Thus, there will be social protection.

One has to tell the people again and again that this is our last chance. We are really standing on the brink of an abyss. One leg is already out in the air. Now we are hopping on the other one to get away from the brink. I talk to many experts, groups, and also to leading foreign politicians. All of them say that our program is correct and necessary. The start is privatization and liberalization of foreign trade to open the Russian market to businessmen from all over the world. Our customs duties are still too high so no one wants to come to work in trade or to invest. One moment please.... (The president has an employee get a white folder.)

In a few days I will sign this decree on foreign trade. I would like you to be the first ones to get a few details from it. This is rally a revolution because this decree will open Russia immediately to foreign investors. The barriers will also be lifted for our entrepreneurs, barriers that were down for decades and destroyed our foreign trade relations. All independent companies and organizations that are registered in Russia receive the right to conduct their own foreign trade activities—they no longer need special permission. Intermediary deals in foreign trade are permitted now; so far they have been prohibited. All restrictions on barter deals will be abolished. Export licenses are necessary only for subsidized goods.

Import taxes will be abolished for foodstuffs and pharmaceuticals, and the other import duties will be reduced drastically. As of 1992 there will be only two exchange rates: a commercial exchange rate—with which the companies sell part of their foreign currency income to the state bank—and a free exchange rate that is determined by supply and demand. Gradually we want to make the transition to a unified ruble exchange rate. Commercial law for Russian and foreign investors on the territory of our republic will be the same. This means: no special rights, no special prohibitions. Foreigners can invest everywhere—except within a few closed projects.

[DIE ZEIT] But foreign businessmen alone are not enough. At the same time the philosophy of life of millions of Soviet citizens must be changed, but the Russian Government is completely under pressure from topical emergency measures. How and by whom can the psychological and professional bases of a modern society be established?

[Yeltsin] Of course, 74 years of this "social experiment" have distorted and disfigured the people's psychological makeup. Therefore, it would be naive to say today that we can change the people's psychological makeup overnight. One year ago the term "private property" gave rise to the most vicious reactions—by Gorbachev and by the workers. Now the same term does not give rise to any doubts regarding the correct path, neither in Gorbachev nor in the majority of the workers and peasants. At first it was said that no one would want land for personal use—and now we already have waiting lists. Only our bureaucrats cannot cope with the matter—and some of them do not want to: saboteurs and old party people. Therefore, we are relying on the vertical executive power. I now have powers to appoint the heads of the administrations myself. In this way the former party secretaries who have been opposing all reforms until now will be prevented from doing harm. Practice will also change the psychological makeup.

[DIE ZEIT] Not only Germany continues to ask about the safeguarding of your nuclear weapons, which are distributed over four republics. The fear of an uncontrolled transfer of know-how is also increasing, because even now third countries are hiring Soviet nuclear experts.

[Yeltsin] The number of nuclear scientists who have left the country that I have learned from official sources of information, from newspapers and western media, are simply exaggerated, incredible. This morning I read in a newspaper that there were 100,000; another newspaper reported 10,000. Neither figure is remotely correct. In the course of this year about 4,000 people from this field have left the country. We are now taking measures to keep these people in the country: There is the so-called "world laboratory," which unites 40 institutes and is considered a think tank. We want to open a branch office of this think tank here in Russia. I discussed this with academician Yevgeniy Velikhov today. In addition, we have drawn up proposals for reorganizing the Academy of Sciences so as to keep academicians in Russia, in particular those who are working in the fields of physics and nuclear energy. We want to suggest to the Americans and also to the Germans to develop a joint program for nuclear waste disposal and offer work to our experts on this basis.

Regarding nuclear weapons, I am for having them under the control of only one place, one center—the president of the country in consultation with the military. If there should be decisions to transfer the nuclear weapons from the other three republics to Russia, we will not object because then control will be easier. By the way, I think and I hope that it will not be possible to steal the strategic nuclear weapons and take them somewhere else.

[DIE ZEIT] We have increasing problems with envisaging the future foreign policy of the union. The center and Russia are quarreling about how much is to remain of the Soviet Foreign Ministry. Some republics want neither the Soviet nor the Russian foreign minister to represent them in the future. What is to happen in practice in the future? Will the foreign embassies in Moscow be accredited to the Russian government next year?

[Yeltsin] This would not be bad, but of course it is out of the question. Yesterday Boris Pankin came to seem me. We coordinated the reorganization of the Foreign Ministry. It will now include the Foreign Trade Ministry and will be called Ministry of Foreign Relations. The trade representations in all countries of the world will be abolished. The embassies will be reduced by half; the entire apparatus of the Ministry will also be cut back by 50 percent. This is the first stage. The Foreign Ministry of the union will work out principles—for the conclusion of treaties, for mutual relations. Fleshing these principles out will then be done by the sovereign states of the union themselves, but the Foreign Ministry will be preserved—any excitement is unnecessary.

Comments on Honecker Issue

LD1811162691 Berlin ADN in German 1405 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—Russian President Boris Yeltsin is expected for an official visit to Germany on 21 November. It is the first foreign visit by Yeltsin as Russian head of government. ADN conducted the following interview with the politician:

[ADN] Mr. President, what expectations do you have of your official visit to the FRG?

[Yeltsin] We attach particular importance to the trip to Germany. It is the first official foreign visit by the Russian president following the events in August. These have led to significant changes in Russia and have transformed its role in the Union of States which was formerly called the USSR.

Hence it is one of the tasks of the visit to inform the German leadership about the situation in my country. As is well known, not everything here is clear to our partners.

In the talks with the German leadership I want to set out the Russian position on the future Russian Federation and the Union. I think a particular topic of our talks will be the economic reforms we have undertaken.

I am hoping for a fruitful discussion, as Germany is confronted with similar problems as a result of the changes introduced in the eastern federal laender.

One point of mutual interest is the fate of the Soviet Germans. We want to inform our interlocutors about the plans which we have worked out to solve this problem. I am convinced that in the discussion of this topic we will find a common language with the Germans.

At present, Russia is going through the transition from sporadic contacts at the international level to an independent foreign policy. We want an ever more active role in the solution of international problems. Hence, for us, the visit to one of the greatest countries in Europe has special significance.

Russia will play an active part in the development of a peaceful and stable Europe. At present, we are seeking effective opportunities to involve the eastern part of the continent and the republics of the former union in this process. Germany and Russia have specific proposals on this. These are to be discussed at the forthcoming meetings and talks.

The problem of security in Europe and in the whole world is of fundamental importance today. The situation in this sphere has changed compeletely. Confrontation is diminishing, but experience shows that even under the new conditions great effort is required to strengthen security. We are all disturbed by events in Yugoslavia. Alarm signals are also coming from other parts of Europe, including Russia. We will also discuss these problems. These include the issue of nuclear weapons in the USSR, the reduction of arms in Europe, cooperation between the armed forces of the European countries, and the future of Soviet troops in Germany.

Of course, the development of the relations between Germany and the Soviet Union is of special importance to us. We are prepared to sign a number of important documents. These would provide a sound legal basis for our varied relations in numerous areas. Russia has seriously started with the removal of those artificial barriers that used to separate the country from the world. I am convinced that Germany will be our stable partner in the future. Our links with this country are centuries old.

In our direct contacts we should certainly use existing experience. In international relations we are guided by the principles of continuity and consistency. We will keep to the contracts that have been concluded between Germany and the USSR. At the same time, Russia is interested in contiuing on this path and in arriving at new horizons of cooperation.

[ADN] What prospects do you see in the development of relations between Germany and Russia?

[Yeltsin] I think that economic relations between Germany and Russia have a great future.

The course chosen by the new Russian Government has the objective of providing as much support as possible for the development of relations between Russia and other countries of the world on the basis of mutual advantage.

The decree on the liberalization of foreign trade relations on the territory of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] has been signed. It has a truly revolutionary character.

The wall that for years blocked the path of foreign goods and investment into Russia has been broken down. The execution of export and import business has been considerably simplified. We are putting an end to the tyranny of officials and to slackness; we are doing away with the breeding ground for the sort of crime and corruption that has caused enormous losses for Russia and for our foreign partners.

Stage by stage we want to work away from a policy of economic cooperation just between two states. A number of free trade areas with favorable conditions for foreign investors has already been created in Russia.

Many German business people are afraid to invest in our country. Their concern is understandable. Therefore, we are prepared to cooperate in the creation of an international insurance fund. This could protect investments in the Russian economy.

Our enterprises need to develop more initiative in their business too. For example: The Russian limited company "Gasprom" recently acquired a 5-percent stake in an East German company for natural gas supply. On the other hand, a German insurance company has bought shares in the banking association "Mentap." This merging together is one of the most effective forms of economic cooperation.

In addition, there are a number of unused production sites in many areas of Russia. They are being privatized. German business people could use these sites along with our resources and workforce.

Forms of cooperation such as joint ventures also offer great potential, especially because certain experience has already been gained in this.

Russia wants to integrate itself into the European market for entrepreurial consultation and to develop mutually advantageous cooperation in this area. Significant opportunities for cooperation are also opened up by the conversion of the Russian arms industry. This complex and other issues relating to economic cooperation will play a role in my negotiations.

A number of German firms have made a name for themselves in Russia in recent years. The products of the "Ferrostahl" company are well known among our consumers. The well known publisher "Burda Moden" is very popular, especially with women. I hope that other firms will also come onto the Russian market. The conditions for this are becoming more and more favorable.

[ADN] When will the Russian leadership officially announce the restoration of the Republic of the Volga Germans? Will you take up this question in Bonn and make certain agreements with the German side?

[Yeltsin] The fate of the Russian Germans is dramatic. Stalin's repression cuased them much suffering and painful losses. Until today justice has not been restored. In my view, the consequences of these arbitrary actions must be at last be removed, but this should happen with regard to the existing realities and by civilized means. Thus we will prevent the solution of the problems of the past causing new problems. We have a corresponding program. It was put to the congress of Soviet Germans in October and received with understanding by the participants.

This question is of particular interest for Germany. Politicians and business people in your country have expressed the wish to help and support Russia. I know that the problem of the Soviet Germans is followed and discussed with great interest also in government circles in Germany. We are also prepared for this. Regarding the republic of the Germans on the Volga, I take the view that it will be restored, come what may, and not only on paper but also in fact.

[ADN] Do you intend to make a decision in the foreseeable future on the presence of Erich Honecker, the former GDR head of state, in Russia?

[Yeltsin] It is my deep conviction that this issue must be solved as quickly as possible in accordance with the norms of international law. I am of the view that the demand from the German authorities to extradite Honecker is just, and I intend to actively support its implementation by the union leadership.

Urges Honecker's Extradition

LD2011150191 Berlin ADN in German 1254 GMT 20 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—Russia's President Boris Yeltsin has again called on USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev to make a decision concerning the extradition of former GDR head of state Erich Honecker. In a joint interview with ARD (first German television), ZDF (second German television) and the FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG (newspaper) on the occasion of his visit to Germany, he said: "There are more than a few republics outside of Russia. It would suit me fine if he were taken to Chile. That is where his family is, but for that we need the agreement on the German side."

In the interview, parts of which were also broadcast on Radio Russia this morning, Yeltsin also welcomed Eduard Shevardnadze's appointment as foreign minister. In a situation as complicated as the one today, the Foreign Ministry must coordinate the foreign and economic activities of the states of the community. Shevardnadze is in a position to take this path. Yeltsin said he had been informed of the Shevardnadze's appointment before it was announced and had approved it. "I believe that he will be needed in such difficult times, at a stage such as this."

Minister Comments on Honecker

LD1911160491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1516 GMT 19 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Semenov]

[Text] Bonn, 19 Nov (TASS)—There is no legal basis for granting political asylum in the Soviet Union to former GDR leader Erich Honecker. This is the view of Nikolay Fedorov, Russia's minister of justice, who is in Bonn in connection with his participation in the conference of ministers of justice of a number of Central and Eastern European countries.

In his opinion, Honecker, who requested political asylum in the USSR following the Russian Government's decision on his extradition, will be extradited to Germany in the near future. The former GDR leader is not the victim of political persecution but is being charged with actions which are punishable by law.

Fedorov once again reaffirmed the Russian Government's determination to carry out its decision on Honecker's extradition from the country in the near future, but at the same time he did not indicate any specific timeframe.

Regarding the position of USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev on this question, the minister stressed that as long as the former GDR leader is on Russian territory, it is the Russian Government alone that will decide his fate. In his view it will never link its decision with any desire or reluctance on the part of Gorbachev.

Yeltsin To Offer Site for German Republic

LD2011111191 Berlin ADN in German 0733 GMT 20 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—Russia's President Boris Yeltsin wants to have the autonomous republic promised to the Russian Germans established on a former Soviet weapons test ground. ADN discovered that the State Committee for National Minorities in Russia already has worked out a draft to this effect. According to this draft, the Russian Germans are to be offered the test ground in Kapustin Yar, a steppe area approximately 100 km southeast of Volgograd.

Kapustin Yar is the oldest Soviet weapons test site, from where the first ballistic missile was launched in September 1947. Soviet medium-range missiles have been destroyed there over the past three years. Following their destruction, craters each of 45 meters in diameter have been created. The area has suffered heavy toxic pollution due to the tests and explosions.

The area is situated south of the former autonomous republic on the Volga. The area does have one advantage: No protests have been made there against the Russian Germans by the local population.

Germans To Reject Offer

LD2011111791 Berlin ADN in German 0925 GMT 20 Nov 91

[Excerpts] Moscow (ADN)—Russia's President Boris Yeltsin wants to establish the autonomous republic promised to the Russian Germans on a former Soviet missile test site. [passage omitted]

According to Jakob Maurer, leading member of the Union society "Wiedergeburt" [Rebirth], the Russian Germans will reject Yeltsin's offer. The area on the border of Kazakhstan is rough territory, he stressed to the RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY in Moscow today. Russian Germans have never lived there, either. Maurer accused the Russian leadership of not being interested in reestablishing the German Volga republic. Instead, they want to establish national groups of Germans in those areas of the country where members of the minority group already live. He reminded that the congress of Germans in October this year voted for the immediate establishment of the republic on the Volga, which was illegally dissolved by Stalin in 1941. [passage omitted]

Germany's Kohl Interviewed on Yeltsin Visit

LD1911164791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1351 GMT 19 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Sosnovskiy]

[Text] Bonn, 19 Nov (TASS)—"I am very glad to welcome President Boris Yeltsin to Germany. We have not forgotten that his courageous position in those memorable August days furthered, to a decisive extent, the victory of democratic forces over the putschists." Helmut Kohl, chancellor of the united Germany, said this in an exclusive interview to the TASS correspondent on the eve of the first visit to the FRG by B. Yeltsin, president of Russia.

"I would like to make use of this visit in order to receive, at first hand, information on the situation in Russia, and especially about the new principles of mutual relations between the center and the republics. Moreover, we will have a wide and in-depth exchange of opinions on the whole range of bilateral and international questions. The signing of a joint statement which is to express our joint will for the broad development of relations will be the culmination of the visit," the Chancellor said.

In reply to a question about the prospects and the emphasis of German policy with respect to the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, the head of the FRG Government stressed: "Today it is a question of supporting in word and deed the process, begun energetically in Russia, of democratization and economic reforms. We want to help the Russian people to consolidate democracy and freedom, the social market economy, and the state and legal order in the long-term. Through deliveries of foodstuffs, we, along with our western partners, want to further the overcoming of difficulties in supply and people in trouble to receive help. That is especially important now, before the onset of winter. At the same time, we all know that Russia is a potentially rich country. Active measures to mobilize its resources would meet mutual interests; that is to say it would further the augmentation of Russia's own efforts.

Another important theme of the conversations, the chancellor continued, will be the situation of Germans in Russia. "The Government of the FRG welcomes the fact that, on the basis of the Russian law of 26 April 1991 on the rehabilitation of oppressed peoples, a fundamental decision should be taken this year on restoring the republic of Volga Germans," H. Kohl said. We are ready, with the available forces, to support that process in such a way that the population living there derives benefit from this."

Speaking of German-Soviet relations, the chancellor of the FRG noted: "In the historic German-Soviet agreements of 1990, we laid the future-oriented basis of the peaceful joint life of our peoples in Europe. I have no doubt that our partners will be true to the treaties signed. As far as who, in the end, will implement the treaties which have been concluded within the framework of the Soviet Union which is being formed anew, is concerned—this is a question which is to be resolved in the course of the talks between the heads of the sovereign republics which are being held in Moscow.

"This question arises, not in the last place and also in connection with the agreements on the foreign debt, which must be fulfilled. Therefore, I welcome the agreement reached between the republics on collective responsibility with regard to the common debt.

"In the past, bilateral relations were developed not only at a general state level. I recall in this connection the cooperation between our federal lands and the republics the many partnership links on a communal level. I am sure that as the republics' prerogatives expand, cooperation with them will grow closer, too.

"Allow me to stress in conclusion that the visit by President Yeltsin is continuing the centuries-long tradition of relations between our peoples. Looking back, Germans and Russians can recall a history of close relations, both in the cultural and economic spheres. I am sure that we will succeed in enriching history, having written a new chapter into it."

Yeltsin Envoy Meets With Japan's Miyazawa

LD1911065291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0605 GMT 19 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Bantin]

[Text] Tokyo, 19 Nov (TASS)—The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] president's special representative, Vladimir Lukin, chairman of the Committee on International Affairs and Foreign Economic Relations of the Russian parliament who is here on a visit, presented Japanese Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa with a personal message from Boris Yeltsin today.

"The Japanese prime minister gave a very positive assessment of the Russian program for implementing economic reforms, the essence of which was set out in Boris Yeltsin's message," the Russian president's special representative told your TASS correspondent. Vladimir Lukin said that the Russian president's first message was devoted wholly to the economic reform which is now beginning in Russia, and it describes the processes taking place now in our country.

Dealing with the situation in the USSR, Kiichi Miyazawa expressed the opinion that Russia will face difficulties in executing its reform, but it is the only possible route out of the present situation, and roughly the same road which Japan had to follow when it stimulated the development of the market and competition in the post-war years. The prime minister also pointed out that he regards Boris Yeltsin's message as the beginning of a direct dialogue between Japan and Russia and would like to see it actively continued: this includes a visit to Tokyo by the RSFSR president. Recalling that Boris Yeltsin already possesses an invitation to this effect from the Japanese side, Kiichi Miyazawa called for a decision to be taken as soon as possible on a possible date for the Russian head of state to pay a visit to Tokyo.

During the meeting with the Japanese prime minister, Vladimir Lukin also expressed gratitude for the credits which Tokyo has already agreed to grant the Soviet Union as aid. As the RSFSR president's special representative commented, the Japanese side intends to continue to support the implementation of the Russian reforms, although the scale of that support, according to official Tokyo spokesmen, "is linked to the general improvement in Soviet- Japanese and Russo-Japanese relations": this includes a solution to the territorial problem in bilateral relations.

Meets Japanese Finance Minister

LD1911053191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0450 GMT 19 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Vasiliy Golovnin]

[Text] Tokyo, 19 Nov (TASS)—The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] president's special representative, Vladimir Lukin, chairman of the Russian parliament's Committee on International Affairs and Foreign Economic Ties who is on a visit to Tokyo, had a meeting today with Japanese Finance Minister Tsutomu Hata, assuring him that the Soviet Union's foreign debt will be repaid in accordance with existing obligations. During the conversation, he noted that the sovereign republics of the former USSR have agreed to clear its debts to foreign countries by distributing them among themselves. The president's representative stressed that the commitments made to the "Big Seven" leading industrially developed states will be met in full. At the same time, he said that Russia is prepared to take on that proportion of the foreign debt which any of the republics is unable to repay.

Lukin spoke in favor of keeping a monetary unit common to all in the economic space of the Soviet Union. He said, however, that Russia will be compelled to consider the issue of introducing its own currency if other republics take such a step. The president's representative stated that in the interests of pursuing economic reform in the RSFSR, it is planned to set up an international consultative body, which will involve leading economic experts. In this context, he appealed to Japan to send some of its specialists there.

During the conversation, it is reported, Finance Minister Tsutomu Hata spoke in favor of Russia playing the role of organizer among the other republics in the economic field.

Official on Kurils Residents' Visit to Japan

OW1911165691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1449 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Only the residents of the South Kurils who lived there when the corresponding Japanese-Soviet documents were signed would be eligible to travel to Japan without visas, said a senior staffer of Japan's embassy in Moscow. He told DP [Diplomatic Panorama] that this follows from the text of these documents. In other words, the Soviet citizens who came to settle on the islands after the signing of the documents (October 14, 1991) will not have special status as compared with other Soviet citizens. The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Foreign Ministry DP asked for comments said that they understood Japan's position quite well. [sentence as received] Japan is probably afraid that Soviet mafiosos who are buying apartments in South Kurils may get a chance to visit Japan without visas.

According to a senior staffer of the Russian Foreign Ministry, Soviet-Japanese documents mention the possibility for "permanent residents of the islands" to enter Japan without visas. The documents do not specify for how long a Soviet citizen must live on the islands to qualify for the right to visit Japan without a visa.

The diplomat said that local authorities may form an obstacle to the mafia's access to Japan because they will draw up lists of potential travellers to Japan during the first year, but he did not rule out the possibility that a special protocol may be signed at the insistence of Japan that would regulate all these issues. According to the diplomat, this would be quite logical since neither the April 18, 1991, agreement nor an October 14, 1991 memo to the agreement decide all practical issues of Soviet-Japanese visa-less exchanges.

Yeltsin Sends Letter on Kuril Island Policy

PM2011170991 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 19 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

["Boris Yeltsin's Letter to Russians"]

[Text] "Dear Compatriots!

"Having received your message in which you voiced your concern at the future of the southern Kurils, I consider it my duty to explain the stance of the Russian Federation's leadership.

"I fully agree with you that the present generation of Russians does not bear responsibility for the political adventurism of our country's former leaders. At the same time it is the new Russian leadership's absolute duty to seek ways to resolve problems inherited from the policy of past eras that are preventing us even today from organizing normal relations between Russia and the world community. Ultimately the future of the new democratic Russia as a member of this community and its international prestige depend to a great extent on how rapidly we can overcome the difficult legacy of the past, take on board the norms of civilized international relations, and therefore make the main criteria of our policy legality, justice, and strict compliance with the principles of international law.

"One of the problems that we have to tackle in the very near future is that of securing a final postwar settlement of relations with Japan. I am sure that from the viewpoint of Russians' interests it would be unforgivable to continue to resign ourselves to a situation where relations with Japan remain effectively frozen because of the lack of a peace treaty between our countries. It is well known that the main obstacle to this treaty is the question of the border demarcation between Russia and Japan. This question goes back a long way and has recently been the focus of universal attention and all kinds of emotions among Russia's citizens. In our approach to this matter we will be guided by the principles of justice and humanism and will firmly defend the interests and dignity of Russians, especially the residents of the southern Kurils. I can assure you no resident of the southern Kurils will have his life ruined. Their socioeconomic and property interests will also be fully ensured in the light of prevailing historical realities.

"The basic principle of any accords with Japan will be concern for the good of our unified, indivisible great homeland. As the first democratically elected president of Russia I assure you that the Russian public will be given timely and full information about its government's intentions and plans.

"I sincerely count on your understanding and support.

"[Signed] B. Yeltsin."

Japanese-Russian 'Direct Dialogue' Begins

LD1911235691 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 2200 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] A personal message from Boris Yeltsin has been handed over to Japan's Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa by Vladimir Lukin, a special representative of the Russian president. Miyazawa pointed out that he regards Boris Yeltsin's message as the start of a direct dialogue between Japan and Russia.

Yeltsin To Help in Kuwaiti Prisoner Release

LD1811180591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1735 GMT 18 Nov 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Moscow, 18 Nov (TASS)—In the Kremlin today, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] President Boris Yeltsin had a conversation with Kuwaiti Amir Jabir al-Ahmad al-Sabah, who arrived here on 17 November on a working visit.

During the talks, Pavel Voshchanov, press secretary of the RSFSR president, told TASS that there was discussion of the prospects of development of relations between Russia and Kuwait, in particular in the field of the economy. The sides noted the existence of mutual interests and spheres for active cooperation. Pavel Voshchanov said that joint commissions would be set up shortly to engage in work on specific questions of mutual cooperation.

The Kuwaiti amir conveyed to the Russian president an invitation to visit Kuwait, which was accepted with gratitude.

Boris Yeltsin also met Kuwaiti children whose parents are in captivity in Iraq. They conveyed to him a message asking for help in the release of the prisoners. "The Russian leadership," Boris Yeltsin said, "will take any measure it can for the release of the prisoners in Iraq." He expressed the conviction that Kuwait should soon be rebuilt following the Iraqi aggression.

Foreign Minister, Swiss Official on Cooperation

LD1911005791 Moscow TASS in English 2218 GMT 19 Nov 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Staroselsky]

[Text] Moscow November 18 TASS—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev met State Secretary of the Swiss Foreign Affairs Department Klaus Jacobi today to discuss aspects of the development of multi-faceted mutually beneficial cooperation between the Russian Federation and Switzerland.

Jacobi confirmed friendly feelings of the Swiss people to the people of Russia, as well as the availability of a wide field for activities to expand bilateral relations in all spheres, the Russian minister told correspondents.

There is a lot Russia can learn from Switzerland, which has a perfect mechanism of confederation and local government, Kozyrev stressed. Same goes for the banking, modern technology and cooperative movement.

The Swiss side expressed the readiness to help Russia solve various problems, which will primarily be done on easy terms, the minister noted. However, we mainly discussed the prospects for long-term cooperation.

Belorussia

Deputies Demand Government's Resignation

LD2011045391 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1300 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Speaking on television, Belorussian members of parliament, representing the Belorussian Popular Front, have strongly criticized the republican government and demanded its resignation. They pointed out that throughout the previous year the opposition called for introducing republican currency, recognizing private ownership of land, and taking other measures to ensure Belorussia's economic sovereignty and transition to a free market economy but nothing has been done.

Fixed Prices of Staple Goods To Be Preserved

LD2011041691 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belorussian 0400 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] We received a statement of the Belorussian Government from the Council of Ministers' Information Service. It analyses the present republic situation along with measures and steps taken by the government for its stabilization. The government fully understands, reads the statement, that the republic's situation is made worse by the coming liberalization of prices. Their liberalization and the introduction of so-called market prices in adjacent regions will inevitably force us to also take that step. What does the Council of Ministers intend to do about this situation? "First of all, we envisage to preserve fixed state prices on staple goods which form the basis of consumer budget. The sum of subsidies from the budget for 1992 is fixed at the figure of approximately 10 billion rubles." The government has worked out a whole package of draft laws directed at the social protection of the population. The full text of the statement will be published in the press.

Consumer Coupons, Cards To Be Introduced

OW1811021591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2221 GMT 17 Nov 91

[From the "Business Report" feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On January 1, 1992, Belarus [Belorussia] will introduce a system of consumer coupons and cards, which must accompany the appropriate ruble payment when a customer makes a purchase. Official motivation for this move is Belarus's desire to provide protection to the domestic consumer market while neighboring republics introduce free prices. In the neighboring Ukraine, the introduction of similar coupons was the first step toward creation of a national currency.

Council Increases Purchase Price of Livestock

LD1911101791 Minsk Radio Minsk in Belorussian 0400 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Another price rise is the most important topic we concern ourselves with now. A BELTA correspondent received the following information at the directorate of price formation and price parity at the republic's Ministry of Agricultural Produce:

1. In accordance with the resolution of the republic's Council of Ministers, new purchase prices have been introduced from 1 November for cattle, pigs, and lambs. According to the calculations of specialists, the increased purchase prices will bring to the republic's agriculture approximately 300 million rubles in profits by the end of the year.

2. The Council of Ministers agreed with the proposal of the Ministry of Agricultural Produce, the State Economic Planning Committee, and the Ministry of Finance of Belorussia on the sale to the population of class 1 and 2 filter cigarettes at contractual retail prices. In order to procure additional means for covering the difference between wholesale and retail prices on meat and meat products, the list of wine and vodka brands to be sold in commercial shops will be increased. The resolution also envisions introducing coupons for meat and dairy products and other foodstuffs in short supply. This measure is directed at stopping the export of the above listed goods.

Moldova

Republic To Establish 12-14,000-Strong Army

LD2011052291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1707 GMT 19 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Fedor Angeli]

[Text] Kishinev, 19 Nov (TASS)—Potential human resources of Moldova allows it to create an army of 100,000 men, stated director-general of the Moldovan Department for Military Issues Nikolae Kirtoake to a TASS correspondent. However, according to him, this would mean militarization of the state and enormous spending. It has been decided, therefore, to set the limit at a 12-14,000-strong professional army. At the same time, the young men will undergo six months of training as reservists with future re-training periods in two or three stages. It will be possible, in a short time, to attract hundreds of thousands of volunteers, stressed Kirtoake. The military department head noted that the draft laws on military service for Moldovan citizens and social protection for the servicemen are now being elaborated. According to him, the Army will keep out of politics and will protect the constitutional order and territorial integrity of the republic.

President Snegur Meets Church Representatives

AU1911210491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1852 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Chisinau (Kishinev), ROMPRES, 19/11/1991—On Monday, November 18 the president of the Republic of Moldova, Mircea Snegur, had an interview with the archbishop of Chisinau and Moldova, Vladimir, with the bishop of Tighina, Vichentie, and with the bishop of Balti, Petru, reads a communique of the Presidency Press Department quoted by MOLDOVA-PRES.

Declaring for the collaboration between state and church, Mr. Snegur appreciated its contribution to the people's rebirth. More than that, he included in the electoral platform for the presidential elections a series of theses referring to the rebirth of church, the protection of the church patrimony by the state, the encouragement of its activity of spiritual education.

Chairman on Need for Relations With Romania

LD1911235891 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2200 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] In the present situation, without Romania, Moldova is threatened by isolation, stated Aleksandr Moshanu, chairman of the Moldovan parliament, in an interview to GOLOS NATSII [VOICE OF THE NATION] newspaper. In Moshanu's opinion, it would be equivalent to a return of the republic to the empire. According to Moshanu, the fact that the republic does not have any borders with Russia and that the Ukraine has not recognized the independence of Moldova does not allow it to join a new Union with former Union republics. We have no one to fall back on but Romania, and any restraint on this natural process would mean running back to Moscow again to be bound hand and foot, Moshanu said.

Bessarabians Ask For Romanian Citizenship

AU1911202591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1746 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Chisinau [Kishinev], ROMPRES, 19/11/1991—In a statement signed by Mircea Druc, former prime minister of the Republic of Moldova, the parliamentary group of the Popular Front of Moldova expresses its adhesion to the appeal of the "December 16" National Alliance to the parliament of Romania asking "Romanian citizenship for the inhabitants of the Romanian territories on the left-hand bank of the Prut."

"We express our hope." The statement reads, "that the country's parliament will meet that request as soon as possible considering the opportune character of the historical moment and the need to do an act of justice and pay back a moral duty to that part of the Romanian people, granting it back its legitimate rights of which it has been deprived illegally in the wake of Soviet expansion in 1940."

"We intend to fight consistently for the granting of Romanian citizenship to the inhabitants of Moldova and Northern Bukovina," Iurie Rosca, executive president of the People's Front of Moldova, stated in an interview with newspaper NEZAVISIMAYA MOLDOVA. He mentioned that, despite the negative reaction of Moldova's official leadership, the People's Front of Moldova would continue to take action to that purpose—MOLDOVA-PRES informs.

"We have all the reasons—juridical, historical, moral and social-economic—in favor of adopting the Romanian citizenship," Iurie Rosca specified. In this line we have found understanding on behalf of the Romanian leadership and we consider there are no serious obstacles for it.

Compromise Reached; Dnestr Accounts Unfrozen

LD1811172491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] A compromise was reached at talks held between the leadership of the Republic of Moldova and the Dnestr region on the bank conflict issue, which arose when the bank accounts of the Dnestr region were frozen. The Moldavia Bank has unfrozen the accounts of the Dnestr region enterprises as a result of the agreement reached. Agents' accounts will be retained in banks of other republics. In return the banks of the Dnestr region have agreed to register with the National Bank of Moldavia. Thus more than 300 million rubles kept in Moldovan bank accounts will be unfrozen.

Ukraine

'One Quarter' of Foreign Debt To Be Paid

LD2011060291 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0530 GMT 20 Nov 91

[Text] The Ukraine is prepared to undertake a commitment to repay one quarter of the Soviet Union's foreign debt. This has been stated by Volodymyr Lanovyy, the republic's Minister of State for Property and Enterprise.

Cooperation Treaty With Azerbaijan Signed

LD2011053291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1729 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Kiev, 19 Nov (TASS)—A treaty on the basic principles of interstate relations between the Ukraine and the Azerbaijan Republic was concluded in Kiev today. The document, concluded for a period of 10 years, says, in particular, that the sides recognize each other as sovereign states and will develop equal and mutually beneficial cooperation in the sphere of politics, economics, culture, education, health care, ecology, science technology, trade, and other spheres along with conscientiously and steadfastly observing mutual commitments. The document was signed by Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Chairman Leonid Kravchuk and Azerbaijan President Ayaz Mutalibov.

Bukovina Romanians To Boycott Elections

AU1811191091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1729 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 18/11/1991—The Romanian cultural societies in Northern Bukovina are against the participation of the Romanians in Cernauti [Chernovtsy] region in the elections to be held in the Ukraine on December 1.

In a statement sent to the ROMPRES correspondent in Suceava, the "Mihai Eminescu," "Aron Pumnul," "Mitropolit Silvestru" and "Golgota" societies assess that the electoral platforms offer no guarantee that the problems of the Romanians in northern Bukovina will be solved by the candidates to the Ukraine's presidency.

The statement notes that the policy of denationalisation of the Romanian population in northern Bukovina has been intensified of late and draws the attention of public opinion in Romania and in other countries to the dramatic situation of the Romanians in that territory occupied in the wake of the Molotov-von Ribbentrop pact.

Despite the requests we have repeatedly addressed for almost two years to the leadership of the Ukraine and of the Cernauti region, the statement reads, no constructive dialogue could be held on the settlement of the national problems accumulated over the past fifty years. In that context reference is made to the fact that the Ukrainian officials ignore the legitimate rights of the Romanian population, and the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine refused to invite the representatives of the Romanians, alongside those of the other ethnic minorities to its November 1 meeting when it adopted the declaration of rights of nationalities in the Ukraine.

League of Joint, Foreign Enterprises Founded

LD1711040891 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1900 GMT 16 Nov 91

[Text] The founding congress of the Ukrainian League of Joint and Foreign Enterprises was held in Kiev today. Our correspondent reports that about 350 such enterprises are already operating in the Ukraine. They are uniting in order to protect their mutual interests in legal activities, taxation, obtaining credits, licenses, and the financing of various projects. The creation of a commercial hard currency bank has been planned with the league participating.

Kravchuk, Newspaper Editor Discuss Guarantees

PM1811104991 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Nov 91 p 1

[Unattributed report under general headline: "Did You Hear? Did You Read?"]

[Text] L.M. Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, met with the KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA chief editor in Kiev yesterday. Guarantees of the publication and distribution of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in the Ukraine and the strengthening of the material-technical base of the paper's network of correspondents were discussed and confirmed. The possibility of printing a special KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA supplement in Ukrainian for subscribers living in the Ukraine will also be disscussed.

Exports Prohibited Without Reregistered License

OW1811023891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2221 GMT 17 Nov 91

[From the "Business Report" feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Ukraine has prohibited the export of goods which were produced by Ukrainian enterprises in accordance with export licenses granted in 1991 by authorized organs of other republics and the Soviet Union. The prohibition will affect all licenses which have not been re-registered with the Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations. In issuing a Ukrainian export license, the state will levy a duty consisting of O.1% of the full value of a hard-currency export contract.

Plyushch Receives Russian Representative

LD1711191891 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 0600 17 Nov 91

[Text] Smolyakov has been appointed plenipotentiary representative of the Russian Federation in the Ukraine by decree of Russian President Yeltsin.

Plyushch, first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine, received the plenipotentiary representative of Russia yesterday. A conversation took place during which the sides exchanged thoughts with regard to further deepening the general mutual relations between the neighboring states, the economic and political situation, and steps that are being taken to implement the treaty and other agreements concluded between the Ukraine and Russia. The conversation was held in a friendly and cordial atmosphere.

'National Congress' Held in Odessa

PM1911165891 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Nov 91 Union Edition p 2

[Leonid Kapelyushnyy report from Odessa under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Congresses Are All Very Well, But the Corn Has Not Been Harvested..."]

[Text] Cosmopolitan Odessa was the venue for the All-Ukrainian National Congress.

The fact of holding this event has a clearly defined purpose and goal—to demonstrate the unity of all the peoples of the Ukraine on the path to independence and to consolidate them prior to the referendum.

I hoped that the congress would not only offer a "snapshot" of the relationships between the Ukraine's peoples, large and small, and expose conflicts and fears, but also become a kind of analytical center, a laboratory for developing a program for the future life of the multinational Ukraine as an independent state. Unfortunately, the congress reminded me of a party-soviet-economic aktiv meeting of the recent past.

At the very time that 150 delegations were discussing the problems of interethnic relations, in the Ukrainian steppes the ungathered corn was rustling, the sugar beet lay black on the ground, already felled by the frosts, and the fields were turning green with self-sown winter wheat—the sprouted wastage from the combine harvesting, where the land never did get plowed... It is sad to admit it, but the legislative and executive powers in the Ukraine, which proclaimed its sovereignty more than a year ago, have not achieved much when it comes to concrete success...

Congress of National Minorities Ends in Odessa

*LD1811195691 Kiev Radio Kiev in English
0100 GMT 18 Nov 91*

[Excerpts] Today the All-Ukrainian Congress of National Minorities ended its work in Odessa, southern part of Ukraine. The main objective of the congress was to unite representatives of various nations living in Ukraine. More than 150 national and cultural societies have been set up in the republic. Each sent six delegates to the congress. [passage omitted]

Numerous speakers at the congress presented the various programs of action but they all emphasized that Ukraine should be a single and independent state. The delegates talked the language of peace and friendship. Many of them spoke Ukrainian. All the speakers supported the act on Ukraine's independence.

Of course there were sharp debates but the idea that all nations in Ukraine should live in peace prevailed.

The congress fulfilled its consolidating task. Among concrete questions discussed by the delegates were such as the preservation of religious buildings, financial support to national and cultural societies, preservation of national languages, and so on. The congress delegates adopted an appeal to all nations and national ethnic groups in Ukraine. In particular the appeal reads as follows: Representatives of nations and national ethnic groups united by common interests of the citizens of Ukraine arrived at the conclusion that the only way out of the disastrous situation is the setting up of an independent democratic state on the Ukrainian soil. This state will be able to make us the masters of our future. It will give us political, civil, and economic freedom. [passage omitted]

Interrepublic Affairs

Further on Armenian-Azerbaijani Talks

Protocol Signed on Gas Supplies

LD1911133591 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0900 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Armenian and Azerbaijani delegations have signed a protocol stipulating the resumption of gas supplies to Armenia, which suffered an acute fuel crisis after Azerbaijan cut off its gas pipelines.

The deputy chairman of the Armenian parliament, Babken Ararktsyan, told newsmen the destiny of negotiations on Nagorno-Karabakh depended on whether the gas blockade would be stopped.

Nagorno-Karabakh, an Armenian enclave on the Azerbaijani territory, gave rise to a long-standing bloody conflict between the two republics.

Gas Blockade Continues

LD2011055691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0510 GMT 20 Nov 91

[By correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan, 20 Nov (TASS)—Gas is still not flowing through the pipeline to Armenia. The agreement to resume operation by midnight on 19 November, reached at a regular meeting between plenipotentiary delegations from Armenia and Azerbaijan, with observers from the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] and Kazakhstan in attendance, has been left unfulfilled. As your TASS correspondent was told during the night at the control office of the "Armgazprom" production association for gas transportation and supply, gas supplies to the northern Caucasus through the gas compressor station in Kazakh, which was closed by the Azeri side on 4 November, have not been restored. A state of emergency, envisaging sharp reductions in the consumption of electricity and fuel along with rigid economy in their use, remains in force in the Armenian energy complex. A few days ago, the republic's government was compelled to use a small stock of fuel from a gas-holder for the everyday needs of the people of Yerevan.

Further on Information Exchange

NC1611071991 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] Yerevan, 15 Nov (ARMENPRES)—A communique was signed at the end of the consultative meeting in Moscow on 12-13 November on the exchange of information as part of the negotiating process between the Armenian and Azerbaijani republics.

The communique says that the state news agencies of the Azerbaijani and Armenian republics, AZERINFORM and ARMENPRES, will begin periodic information exchanges as of December 1991. AZERINFORM and ARMENPRES will ratify a cooperation agreement on information exchange in 1992. The news agencies will attempt to disseminate the official information provided by the Russian and Kazakh information group working in the conflict zone.

The relevant local supervisory bodies and services in the Azerbaijani and Armenian republics will ensure the subscriptions for the periodic publications; their normal distribution will begin on 1 January 1992. For this purpose a correspondence post will be set up on the border of the republics.

The dispatch of correspondence to the conflict zone, if need be, will be carried out by the commandant of the state of emergency region.

The communication ministers of Armenia and Azerbaijan will ensure the permanent transmission of broadcasts of Azerbaijani, Armenian, Russian, and Central Television broadcasts in Nagorno-Karabakh as of December 1991.

In conjunction with the communication ministers of the republics, the Russian, Kazakh, Armenian, Azerbaijani televisions and radios will install a direct tele-bridge between Baku-Yerevan-Alma Ata-Moscow with the participation of the representatives of the Azerbaijani and Armenian population of Nagorno-Karabakh. The possibility of regular exchange of television programs and special telenews between the Armenian and Azerbaijani televisions and radios will also be examined.

The communique was signed by the representatives of Russia, Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan and Armenia.

Armenia

Efforts To Satisfy Gas Needs Reported

NC1911213991 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Yerevan, 18 Nov (ARMENPRES)—Reliable sources report that Armenia will soon receive natural gas from a pipeline passing through Georgia. The specialists from "Haygazard" [Armenian Gas Supple Association] are completing the final work on the pipeline. It is expected that Armenia will receive up to 5 million cubic meters of gas daily beginning this weekend; however, this is not enough to solve the energy problem. We require 1.5 million cubic meters of gas daily to meet the household requirements in Yerevan.

[Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian at 1930 GMT on 17 November reports that "Moscow has promised to send 300 tanks of diesel oil to Armenia, according to Minasyan, chief of the fuel energy sources department affiliated to the Armenian Council of Ministers." "The construction of the new gas pipeline is continuing. In the meantime, in line with a preliminary agreement, Georgia will soon give a part of its gas to Armenia."]

Official Remarks on Shortage

NC1611072691 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] Yerevan, 15 Nov (ARMENPRES)—In today's issue, YERKIR has published an interview with Dalalyan, deputy director of Haygazart [Armenian Gas Supply Association].

Dalalyan has announced that the underground gas stocks have considerably diminished over the last few days. To meet the population's minimum needs, 3.5 million cubic meters of gas has been released at the government's order.

He believes that if the construction of the North Caucasus-Georgia-Armenia gas pipeline is completed in a timely manner without interruption from the political tremors in Transcaucasia, it would be possible for our republic to get an additional 5-6 million cubic meters of fuel daily within three weeks.

There is meager ground for optimism, as a cold winter awaits us. Will we be celebrating the new year and Christmas without the traditional festivities?

Clocks Moved Forward To Combat Energy Crisis

PM1811144391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Nov 91 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Stop Press..."]

[Text] On the night of Saturday-Sunday [16-17 November] all clocks in Armenia will be put forward by one hour. The decision about another time change adopted by the republic Council of Ministers is only one in a series of measures aimed at alleviating the consequences of the gas blockade and the severe energy crisis.

Leader Foresees Recognition of Independence

LD1911184291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1736 GMT 19 Nov 91

[By correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan, 19 Nov (TASS)—Armenia's independence will be recognized by the Baltic countries, the former socialist countries of Eastern Europe and the Latin American states, Armenian President Levon Tar-Petrosyan told a news conference today.

The obligations of the Western powers to the Soviet Union, its huge foreign debt amounting to about $70 billion, and the problem of the Soviet Union's military-strategic potential are an obstacle to the international recognition of the independence of the former Soviet republics, the Armenian president believes.

Tar-Petrosyan noted that the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh "today is an international one in connection with the proclamation of independence by Armenia and Azerbaijan." He again came out in favor of the presence of international observers in that region.

Introduction of National Currency Rejected

OW1911221691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2042 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to an informed source close to the Armenian Government, in his inauguration speech President Levon Ter-Petrosyan made a hasty statement concerning Armenia's early switch-over to national currency. According to this source, the president must have made such a statement amid similar moves by other republics, to give other members of the economic community to understand that Armenia, too, might do the same.

So far, Armenia cannot introduce her own currency in view of the current financial crisis. The budget deficit is approaching 1 billion roubles and, in experts' estimates, will reach 1.3 billion by the end of the year. The cash is not enough even for paying wages and pensions.

In this connection, Armenian Minister of Finances, Dzhanik Dzhanoyan, has arrived in Moscow for talks with the Russian bank and with Ivan Silayev in hope for obtaining about 120 million roubles. There is information pointing to the success of his mission.

The Armenian leaders believe that it is unreasonable for the republic to withdraw from the unified economic system because to this day 72 percent of Armenia's economy is integrated with the economy of the former Union.

18 Nov Parliament Session Reported

NC1911201891 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Yerevan, 19 Nov (ARMENPRES)—The Armenian Supreme Soviet continued its deliberations on 18 November.

Babken Ararktsyan, first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet, presided over the morning session and informed the deputies that in accordance with the law "On the President of the Armenian Republic," the republic's president and vice president have resigned as people's deputies. A relevant document has been drawn up in this regard. He then presented the Supreme Soviet Presidium's proposal to place the issue of the election of the Supreme Soviet's new chairman and deputy chairman on the agenda of the current three-day session.

After various proposals were discussed, the agenda was confirmed. Babken Ararktsyan then briefed the deputies on the results of the talks held in Kazakhskiy Rayon the previous day between the plenipotentiary representatives of Armenia and Azerbaijan. He stressed that the most important issue discussed for the Armenian delegation was the unblockading of the gas pipeline feeding Armenia. A declaration was issued on this issue. At the end of the meeting a joint protocol was signed whose first article instructs the leadership of the border rayons to take measures to open the pipeline by 2400 on 19 November.

At the Azerbaijanis request issues were discussed, in particular the joint program worked out by the information commissions of the two republics on the objective reporting of developments in the region. A cease-fire, the exchange of hostages, and other problems were also examined.

The evening session began with a discussion on the second point on the agenda: The election of the chairman of the Supreme Soviet. The deputies' groups, parties, and individual deputies nominated people for the chairmanship.

After some of the nominees withdrew, the following are candidates for the post: Babken Ararktsyan, Mekhak Gabrielyan, Leonid Hakobyan, Hamlet Hovsepyan, and Vazgen Manukyan.

[Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1950 GMT on 18 November reporting on 18 November session of the Supreme Soviet says: "The parliament also examined the remaining six articles of the bill on the jurisdictions of the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet. After examining each article and making partial amendments the parliament adopted by 149 votes the Law on the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet. The relevant commissions were instructed to prepare proposals for the renaming of the Supreme Soviet on the basis of the principle of the division of organs of power."]

Further on President's U.S., Canada Visit

Meets Under Secretary Eagleburger

LD1511114391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1630 GMT 14 Nov 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] Levon Ter-Petrosyan, president of the Republic of Armenia, has met with U.S. First Under Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger. The talks were devoted to discussing issues of the development of U.S.-Armenian relations in light of the general change in attitude of the U.S. Administration to mutual relations with the republics in the USSR.

Discusses Visit

NC2011044891 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1730 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan held a news conference at the Armenian Supreme Soviet on 19 November to discuss his official two-day visit to the United States and Canada.

Ter-Petrosyan briefly recounted his meetings with U.S. President Bush, U.S. First Under Secretary of State Eagleburger—Secretary of State James Baker was on a visit to China—Canada's Prime Minister Mulroney, Argentine President Menem—who was in Washington at the time—American and Canadian senators, congressmen, and other high-level officials, and representatives of local Armenian communities.

He noted that both the U.S. and Canada had prepared for the Armenian delegation's visit. The delegation was composed of acting Armenian Foreign Minister Raffi Hovhannesyan, President Ter-Petrosyan's aide Shahen Karamanukyan, and Armenia's plenipotentiary representative in North America, Aleksandr Arzumanyan.

In all his meetings, the president informed his hosts in detail of the changes taking place in the Soviet Union and Armenia's place in these changes. The world political climate, both in the Soviet Union and in our region, is fundamentally changing following the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the emergence of independent states on its former territory. With the recognition of Azerbaijan by Turkey, a member of NATO, the geopolitical balance has also been disrupted. Both the U.S. and Canada are allies of Turkey in NATO. As such, they have certain responsibilities on restoring the balance in our region. This consideration prompted Ter-Petrosyan to raise the issue of Armenian recognition.

During the meetings, the Armenian president presented his views on the Nagorno-Karabakh problem. Because of the collapse of the Soviet Union, the problem has ceased being merely a domestic affair and has become an international one. The presence of international observers is, therefore, essential. This stand was first raised during the quadripartite meeting at Zheleznovodsk. Both Yeltsin and Nazarbayev agree. President Ter-Petrosyan said he hoped that international observers would be sent soon.

Ter-Petrosyan also raised the idea of transferring Western aid to the Soviet Union directly to the republics so that it would not be used as a political lever this spring, when the $1 billion in foreign aid allocated to the Soviet Union was distributed only to those republics which participated in the Novo-Ogarevo process. He raised the issue of establishing direct ties to the West.

Asked if the attitude toward Armenia has changed since his previous visit to the U.S., Ter-Petrosyan noted that previously the establishment of ties with the republics by circumventing the center used to be considered a sacrilege but now that does not (?scare) the West. The West is forced to reconcile with the fact that the real power rests with the republics. An official White House statement notes that the U.S. intends to establish direct and close relations with Armenia.

Ter-Petrosyan discussed the results of his visit, saying that he has received assurances from the United States that food assistance will be given to Armenia this winter. The United States will encourage a number of banks to give credits to the republic. Armenia will be assisted in the preparation of cadres and in obtaining technology for the development of agriculture.

The U.S. President and other officials were greatly impressed by the economic reforms being implemented in Armenia, in particular land privatization.

The U.S. will open a consulate in Armenia in the first half of 1992. Direct air flights will be negotiated. An agreement has been reached to exchange parliamentary delegations with the U.S. and Canada. The Canadian prime minister has endorsed the proposal to sell grain to Armenia. Talks have already started between the relevant ministries to buy 250,000 tons of wheat during the winter.

The attending reporters were mainly interested in the recognition of Armenian independence. The president noted that even if no positive reply has been received yet, it has nevertheless been put on the agenda, something that the West had previously refused even to consider. We must realize that the big powers that are tied to the Soviet Union with mutual responsibilities would not make haste to recognize the republics of the former Soviet Union. The existence of interests should not be underestimated either. No one would willingly write off the $70 billion foreign debt of the Soviet Union, the repayment of which [words indistinct]. In addition, what worries the West is the fragmentation of the military-strategic forces of the Soviet Union, in particular that of nuclear weapons.

Regarding the (?participation) in the international nonstate organizations, UNESCO, international banks, etc., these are soluble problems and depend on us. The president pins hopes on the restructuring of the Foreign Ministry. He also expressed the conviction that before the new year, a number of countries would extend recognition to Armenia. The Baltic states, the former socialist countries of Eastern Europe, and some Latin American countries may recognize Armenia. Preliminary talks have already been held. Ter-Petrosyan said that acting Foreign Minister Raffi Hovhannesyan would soon pay a visit to Argentina.

Asked if the U.S. was surprised by its NATO partner Turkey's recognition of Azerbaijan, Ter-Petrosyan replied that he did not get that impression. He said he had discussed this matter with the U.S. and Canada. We used to think that Turkey conducted a cautious policy, a country that thinks twice before acting after taking into consideration its relations with the Soviet Union and Russia. He ascribed Turkey's recognition of Azerbaijan to the present state of affairs in Turkey and to the changes in the correlation of forces. He assessed the recognition as a mere [word indistinct] move, which has so far not been followed up by any practical step.

Levon Ter-Petrosyan also replied to reporters questions on the current processes taking place in the Soviet Union, the attempts to revive the center, Armenia's assumption of its share of Soviet Union's foreign debt, etc.

Official Views Opening of Yerevan Consulates

NC1911210591 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1930 GMT 17 Nov 91

[Text] Vladik Karmirkhanyan, chief of the Administration Department of the Armenian Foreign Ministry, commented on the Turkish Foreign Ministry's intention to open a consulate in Yerevan, telling an INTERFAX reporter that Armenia has no objections in principle to that plan. Karmirkhanyan stressed that Armenia, as a sovereign state, has the right to establish ties with the other states, beginning with its immediate neighbors. He said that the recognition of Armenian statehood is a continuing process and that no one should expect Armenia to open embassies abroad in the next year or two. The opening of consulates, he said, is an easier matter. He also underlined that Turkey is not the only country that wants to open a consulate in Armenia.

Cabinet Presidium Examines Economic Treaty

NC1611135191 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 13 Nov 91

[Text] Yerevan, 13 Nov (ARMENPRES)—The regular meeting of the Armenian Council of Ministers Presidium held under acting Prime Minister Grant Bagratyan was devoted to the examination of separate articles in the Economic Community Treaty. It was noted that even though Armenia has signed the agreement, its implementation requires a detailed study in order to emphasize the development of horizontal ties. The basic principle should be that economic cooperation should in no way impede the consolidation of our independence and should not create political dependency.

Azerbaijan

President Consults Ter-Petrosyan via Phone

LD1911223991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2200 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Azerbaijani Television reported in its evening news on 19 November that a telephone conversation between Levon Ter-Petrosyan and Ayaz Mutalibov took place.

Having positively assessed the recent meeting in Kazakh, the president of Armenia expressed readiness to normalize relations between the two republics, which have set out on a path of independent development, and to continue top-level contacts.

The Azerbaijan president noted that terrorists sent from the territory of Armenia are not stopping their aggressive acts and are shelling the villages of the Kazakhskiy rayon, through which the pipeline runs.

The presidents of the two republics agreed to consider a joint statement with regard to a cease-fire in hot spots.

Nakhichevan Thanks Turkey for Economic Aid

OW1411145091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1130 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Geydar Aliyev, head of the Supreme Medjlis (parliament) of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic, has expressed "on behalf of all the Nakhichevanis" profound gratitude to Turkey for the humanitarian aid it offered his republic. A few days ago, a convoy of trucks from the city of Konja crossed into Nakhichevan's district of Sarak via a temporary bridge built over the Aras River. The Turkish citizens accompanying the cargo were received by Geydar Aliyev who told them that in the present situation, the Azerbaijani people, including those in Nakhichevan, "need moral support from their Turkish brothers more than ever before."

Mr. Aliyev welcomed the fact that Turkey had been the first foreign country to recognize Azerbaijan's independence. This, he said, would be sure to "rally all the Turks together."

The Turkish representatives promised to continue assisting their brothers in Azerbaijan, and said that yet another consignment of humanitarian assistance had been sent to Nakhichevan—this time by people in Erzrum.

Turkish Cooperation Committee Meets in Baku

LD2011000191 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 0204 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Excerpt] In the hall of the Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Azerbaijan, Azerbaijan Prime Minister Hasan Hasanov met with a group of leaders of the Turkish-Azerbaijani Active Cooperation Committee headed by Ertan (?Balmum). Creating mutual Azerbaijani-Turkish and Turkish-Azerbaijani active cooperation committees was seen as appropriate. Later, a protocol was signed which regulates the agreement between Turkish Union of Chambers and Stock Exchange and Azerbaijani-Turkish active cooperation as well as the mutual activity of the two sides. [passage omitted]

Internal Affairs Minister Appointed

NC2011101591 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1800 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] According to a decree issued by the republic's president, Tofik Riza oglu Kerimov has been appointed minister of internal affairs. The republic's Supreme Soviet will consider the decree.

Further Reportage Highlights NKAO Violence

Seven People Reportedly Killed

OW1911193491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1748 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to unconfirmed information, on the night November 18, 5 Azeris were killed in shooting in the village of Khodzhavend in Nagorno-Karabakh's Martuni region. In fear of shooting, most of the village people have left the village.

In the morning November 19, two Armenian tractor drivers were killed in the village of Edillu in the Gadrut region.

Clashes, Capture of Villages Reported

NC1911205491 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Yerevan, 19 Nov (ARMENPRES)— YERKIR newspaper reports that after intense battles, Armenian freedom fighters liberated Tsamdzor and Sarishen in Gadrutskiy Rayon on 15 November. The combat operations started after the Azerbaijani OMON [special purpose militia detachment] turned down an Armenian ultimatum. At 0600 the freedom fighters entered Tsamdzor and occupied buildings where the OMON was headquartered. Following some fierce fighting, the Armenians took the village under complete control at noon and kept Sarishen under siege. The freedom fighters offered safe conduct to the Azerbaijanis in Sarishen, with the stipulation that they leave their weapons behind. Only a few did not take up the offer.

The Azerbaijanis suffered heavy losses. According to preliminary figures, 25 OMON members and a great many Azerbaijanis have been killed. The Armenian tally is three men killed, four wounded, and one missing. The Armenian Revolutionary Federation mourns its comrades Rafik Khachatryan and Samvel Antonyan, martyred at the battle for Tsamdzor.

YERKIR also reports that Salakyatin in Gadrutskiy Rayon was abandoned by the Azerbaijanis and is now under the full control of the Armenian freedom fighters.

Last night, the Armenian-inhabited village of Dzhrakuys came under intensive firing. The attackers retreated after the Armenian freedom fighters launched a counterattack. There are no losses on the Armenian side.

The same paper reports that Gyula Grigoryan and her two-year-old and five-month old children, taken hostage in Srkhavend village in Askeranskiy Rayon, were released on 8 November. They were exchanged for two Azerbaijani women taken hostage at Tsamdzor in Gadrutskiy Rayon. Relatives say that the former hostages were not harmed in any way and that they are in good health.

[Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian at 1215 GMT on 19 November carries another report on the capture of these two villages "the Armenian population of which had been previously deported." The ARMENPRES report adds: "The Armenian side has also occupied the television relay station on the hill near Sarinshen. There are losses and injured on both sides." "The power and telephone line have been restored in Sarinshen. One shop even opened its doors. The former residents of the village are gradually returning to their homes."]

[Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian at 1930 GMT on 17 November reports: "One Armenian was killed and scores of others were injured during the bombardment of Khramort village in Askeranskiy Rayon early on 15 November. The Azerbaijanis launched combat operations against Khramort from Agdamskiy Rayon on 14 November." The reports adds: "Women and children took shelter behind the village club. Unfortunately, one of the grenades fell there and as a result 11 women and eight children were injured. One of the injured died in the hospital."]

Two Killed; Internal Troops Arrive

LD1911180691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1555 GMT 19 Nov 91

[By correspondent Vadim Byrkin]

[Text] Stepanakert, 19 Nov (TASS)—Two people were killed and one was seriously injured this morning in the Gadrut Rayon of Nagorno-Karabakh. A TASS correspondent was told by the Gadrut Rayon Internal Affairs Department that inhabitants of the Armenian village of Dudukchi were the victims of unidentified assailants as they were driving a tractor to the rayon center. According to preliminary data, during the night, in an exchange of fire in the rayon center of Martuni and the Azerbaijani village of Khodzhavend, one Azerbaijani was killed. Over the past month, almost every night there have been exchanges of fire involving many types of weapons. There have been many casualties on both sides. In both populated areas tens of houses have been set on fire and damaged.

According to reports by the commandant's office of the state of emergency rayon, additional subunits of the internal troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs have arrived in Martuni to avert armed clashes.

Weapons Returned; Clashes Reported

NC1511123691 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1730 GMT 13 Nov 91

[Text] There was an unusually long queue yesterday in front of the Stepanakert Internal Affairs Department. People had come to collect hunting rifles that were confiscated from citizens of Nagorno-Karabakh in 1988 and 1989. The rifles are being returned to their legitimate owners after the decision by Nagorno-Karabakh Republic authorities after the attempt made by the Azerbaijani Interior Ministry a week ago to forcibly seize the entire arms stock from the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic's Internal Affairs Department.

Fighting is continuing in Stepanakert's predominantly Azerbaijani suburb of Kirkidzhan. The army is not interfering in the clashes. Armenian policemen have been patrolling the area for the last few days.

Four soldiers serving in Nagorno-Karabakh have appealed to the USSR Procurator General, to the Russian Supreme Soviet Commission on the Affairs of Servicemen, and to other institutions requesting legal protection. Sergeant Major Sergey [surname indistinct], Sergeant Igor Tikhonov, privates Denis Setov and Igor (?Kanonnikov) are protesting the Shusha prosecutor's falsification of facts to charge them with a grave crime. The soldiers' appeal reveals that after being taunted by local residents they started a fight. The prosecution proposes they should either chose a long-term prison sentence or bring four wealthy Armenian hostages to Shusha. The Azerbaijani side has promised to pay 10,000 rubles for each Armenian.

Nagorno-Karabakh TV Resumes Broadcasts

NC1611065991 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 13 Nov 91

[By correspondent Aleksandr Grigoryan]

[Text] Stepanakert, 12 Nov (ARMENPRES)—After almost two months, the Nagorno-Karabakh television studio has resumed broadcasting. This development significantly neutralizes the efforts by plotters of the interethnic conflicts and diverse blockades—that is the former Union center and the Azerbaijani leadership—to impose an information lock on Nagorno-Karabakh's Armenians.

Yuriy Apresyan, chairman of the Television and Radio Broadcast Committee of Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR], told an ARMENPRES correspondent: "The modern transmission equipment installed at Buvurkhan by our technicians freed the workers at the Stepanakert television studio from using the Shusha relay station. We decided to determine our own destiny. Thanks to the heroic efforts of the communication workers of Stepanakert, Artsakh's [Nagorno-Karabakh] television has again joined the unequal struggle for freedom and genuine self-determination of NKR's Armenians."

Programs are aired on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays between 1830 and 2000. The people of Artsakh are confident that the day will come when they will once again be able to receive motherland Armenia's television broadcasts.

Georgia

Leader's Address Assails 'Empire,' Opposition

AU2011104991

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian at 1405 GMT on 18 November carries a 10-minute recording of Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia's address to a public meeting outside the government building in Tbilisi on 18 November.

Gamsakhurdia begins by saying that "there are national problems, special problems that the government alone cannot resolve.... Therefore, the entire people must support us. We know that the so-called opposition is not refraining from its treacherous activities and it is due to them that the situation in Samachablo [South Ossetia] has deteriorated considerably. The situation has deteriorated because we and our forces are unable to help them as we are engaged in the struggle against the criminals here in Tbilisi."

Gamsakhurdia proceeds to single out the "entire encampment of criminal elements at the Tbilisi Sea" (a reference to the opposition figures Tengiz Sigua and Tengiz Kitovani and their followers). He continues by saying that "the whole nation must unite, and public opinion has to be mobilized. We have to exert our influence upon these people so that they lay down their weapons." He says that these weapons were seized illegally from the government and now "these weapons have to be sent to Samachablo. We have to help the Georgians there at a time when Georgians are being slaughtered. We have to help unarmed Georgians. There are entire villages that have only one rifle.... At the same time, volunteer detachments are being formed to help the Georgians there. I call upon all who can use a gun, all who have had some military experience, who have served in the Army, especially those who were officers to enlist in the volunteer detachments. You have to do this...."

Gamsakhurdia then mentions several places where the volunteers can register. He goes on to emphasize that "the internal troops have declared war upon us there, and we must give them an appropriately good response. We must unite. We have to curb those traitors who are encamped at the Tbilisi Sea, those who are committing treacherous deeds against Georgia. Those traitors must be brought under control!"

He goes on to justify the term "the criminal intelligentsia" by accusing Tengiz Sigua, the former prime minister, of having stolen a car the day before. "He sent his people, and they stole a car from our troops.... Friends, is it possible for a car thief to be a member of the intelligentsia?! I ask you. Their representatives steal cars parked on the street. Are these people members of the intelligentsia, members of the opposition?! They are criminals and bandits whom the Georgian people should bring to account in the appropriate manner."

He continues by saying that "we have decided to create zones throughout the whole of Georgia and appoint plenipotentiaries in the sphere of the fight against crime and create initiative groups in all the rayons. We will pair these rayons... with the aim of taking measures against the criminal world."

Gamsakhurdia then lists the paired rayons, after which he reiterates that "plenipotentiaries extraordinary will be appointed in all these regions and a categorical and relentless struggle must be proclaimed against crime, a relentless struggle!... We must begin this movement in the near future, friends. We will put an end to the crime wave in Georgia. It has to be destroyed!"

He then states that a "peaceful encirclement" of the camp at the Tbilisi Sea "involving hundreds of thousands of people" will be organized in order to force those there to lay down their weapons.

Gamsakhurdia then broaches the subject of relations with Checheno-Ingushetia. "I will remind you that we support the struggle of the Caucasian peoples for freedom and independence, and our contacts with the Chechens and the Ingush are intensifying and becoming stronger each day. Indeed, in the near future, we will establish an all-Caucasian anti-imperialist front that will declare war on the empire... and will finally lay the foundation for free, independent, and sovereign states in the Caucasus. We will not tolerate the movement of provocateurs who are trying to set the Caucasian peoples against one another through the creation of some kind of confederation and the establishment of Sukhumi as their capital. No serious-minded leader of the Caucasian peoples will accept this. We will hold a meeting with the leaders of the Caucasian peoples in the near future at which all this will be resolved at the highest level."

Gamsakhurdia concludes by saying "so, friends, I ask you to turn to practical deeds and actions in all those spheres that I have mentioned. We have to overcome this criminal situation, destroy crime in Georgia, and quickly disarm the illegally armed formations. Those who do not voluntarily surrender their weapons will be mercilessly isolated. This is absolutely essential. We must disarm the criminal bands, establish peace and order in Georgia, launch a new front, establish an anti-imperialist movement, and take measures to break the blockade. Friends, these problems will be finally resolved following our new relations with the Chechens. We will remove any danger of a blockade when we have established direct relations with the Chechens. This is a matter of the greatest importance.... I ask you to take practical steps now and implement today everything I have mentioned.

"Long live our struggle for the salvation of Georgia, for Georgia's eventual freedom and independence!"

Says Interior Troops Back Extremists

OW1911125591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1217 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Zviad Gamsakhurdia of Georgia has accused USSR Interior Ministry troops of "deliberately supporting Ossetian extremists in Samachablo (Georgian name of South Ossetia—IF [INTERFAX])."

Speaking at a rally in Tbilisi Monday [18 November], the president called upon all political groups and the population throughout the republic to pool their efforts to protect Georgians in South Ossetia.

He acknowledged a rise in crime in Tbilisi and attributed it to the distraction of many policemen from their direct duties by "rebellious democrats, i.e., criminal elements who capture weapons from the Georgian National Guard to threaten the lawful republican government." At the same time, Mr. Gamsakhurdia noted that people in South Ossetia "remain practically defenseless against the extremists terrorizing them."

Monday saw two opposition-sponsored rallies in Tbilisi, at which speakers again called for the freedom of speech, the release of political prisoners, etc.

Congress Criticizes Address

LD1911233591 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2200 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] On 19 November, the Georgian National Congress adopted a resolution that labels the speech by President Zviad Gamsakhurdia at a meeting in Tbilisi on 18 November as a call to mount reprisals against the opposition.

As the SNARK agency reports, the resolution is addressed to leaders of a number of foreign countries and to the entire world community. We regard the speech by Gamsakhurdia as an attempt to wage a civil war and as a clear-cut call to mount reprisals against the opposition, Congressman (Georgiy Kabakhidze) stated.

Border Troops, Naval Property Nationalized

LD2011101591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1010 GMT 19 Nov 91

[By correspondent Viktor Voronyuk]

[Text] Tbilisi, 19 Nov (TASS)—Having already declared the property of USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Internal Troops in Georgia to be under national ownership, the president of that republic has signed a similar decree regarding units of the border troops and USSR naval forces deployed on its territory.

From now on, says the document, all weapons, ammunition, transportation systems, military equipment, bases, and other military property are transferred to the ownership of the republic. The Cabinet of Ministers of Georgia has been instructed to start talks with the appropriate USSR bodies of state power and government.

Odessa To Acquire National Guard 'Subunit'

LD1311165191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1300 GMT 13 Nov 91

["Television News Service" report]

[Text] The town of Odessa is acquiring a military formation of its own. According to an IMAPRESS report, the Black Sea Haydamak Hundred is being set up—an independent subunit of the Republican National Guard in the Ukraine.

Continuing South Ossetia Conflict Detailed

LD2011000491 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 19 Nov 91

["TV Inform" report by A. Poklad]

[Text] South Ossetia literally forms a wedge in the territory of Georgia. It is natural that Georgia cannot allow the annexing of these lands to Russia as the residents of Ossetian settlements are demanding. Politicians and historians will work out who is right and who is to blame, but one thing is clear: The problem cannot be resolved by such uncivilized methods as those being used at the present time.

I remind you that the reason for the fresh outburst of violence in this area is the murder of two Armenian truck drivers and a lieutenant of the USSR Internal Troops in the Georgian village of Tamarasheni. After those incidents, searches were undertaken in Georgian villages. Several suspects were detained by the search group that arrived from Moscow, with the support of the Internal Troops. This is presented by the Georgian side as a plundering attack by the Army on a peaceful settlement.

The exchange of fire in Tskhinvali has been increased. The subunits of the Internal Troops have been forced to open fire to suppress the Georgian firing positions.

Both peoples are suffering. The number of refugees going from South to North Ossetia exceeds 80,000 people. People are traversing an extremely difficulty mountain road that passes through the more than 6-km-long tunnel linking South and North Ossetia. With the onset of winter, this road becomes extremely dangerous because of avalanches and mudslides. It is time to move from the emotions giving rise to bloodshed to talks.

Roads to Villages Blockaded

LD1911233391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 19 Nov 91

["TV Inform" report by N. Gongadze]

[Excerpt] On almost all sides, Georgian villages border on the former autonomous oblast of South Ossetia set up by the Bolsheviks in 1921 in the center of the republic. In order to get to Rauliyavskoye gorge, the residents of eight Georgian villages have to travel through Tshkinvali or detour the town. For a week now, because of the Ossetian demonstrators blocking the roads, people of Georgian nationality have been spending the night at the entry points to the town and cannot return to their villages. There are checkpoints everywhere. Servicemen refuse to escort buses. The villages are not receiving foodstuffs or building materials. Hundreds of Georgian families have suffered as a result of the earthquake. They will remain without a roof over their heads this winter.

A few days ago, after joint operations by servicemen of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs and Ossetian extremists, three Georgian villages outside the state of emergency zone were shelled with missiles.

Interior Ministry on Tskhinvali Deaths

OW1911135591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1217 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Tensions remain high in South Ossetia. According to the USSR Interior Ministry group stationed locally, Georgian militants have killed 6 people and wounded more than 20 in Tskhinvali alone in the past 10 days. Some 26 dwellings were burned or destroyed.

In the period in question members of the USSR Interior Ministry's investigating group managed to free 34 ethnic Ossetians taken hostage by ethnic Georgians.

Radio, TV Workers Continue Strike

LD1811181691 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] Over 400 workers of the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting of the Republic of Georgia continue to strike, demanding that the Georgian law on the mass media be implemented in practice. For the second month now, television broadcasts have been transmitted not from the television center building, where the strike is taking place, but from the government building, where, with the help of special equipment, programs are retransmitted directly to the television tower.

Republic To Cut Use of Electricity

LD1511055191 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1500 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] A decision on limiting the distribution of electricity to consumers has been adopted by the Georgian Government. In particular, in November and December and in the first quarter of next year, it is envisaged to cut industrial enterprises' use of electricity by 20 percent.

It has been made incumbent on the Council of Ministers of Abkhaziya and Adzhariya and the mayor's office in Tbilisi to propose to all cooperatives that they establish work hours from 1000 to 1600 by 1 April 1992. Enterprises and organizations working a single shift should work from 0800 to 1600 without a break. By the end of March, connecting new consumers to the network should be stopped.

Kazakhstan

Agreement on Security Service Concluded

LD1511144691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1321 GMT 15 Nov 91

[By KAZTAG correspondent Arkadiy Rotmistrovskiy]

[Text] Alma-Ata, 15 Nov (TASS)—An agreement has been concluded here on cooperation between the recently created Interrepublic Security Service [TSS] and the KGB of the Kazakh SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]. It was signed today by Vadim Bakatin, the ISS leader, and Bulat Bayekenov, chairman of the republic's KGB.

They noted during their meeting that the gaining of independence by the subjects of the former Union led to the transformation of the state security bodies. Henceforth, control of them is concentrated in the sovereign republics. However, the security interests of each of them also require the centralized coordination of actions.

Answering questions from press representatives later, Vadim Bakatin and Bulat Bayekenov stressed the growing role of the state security bodies in intelligence and counterintelligence activities, and in the struggle against organized crime, the spread of drug, corruption, and other particularly dangerous offenses.

Financial Cooperation Treaty With Oman Signed

LD1611094991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1152 GMT 15 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Viktor Lebedev]

[Text] Abu Dhabi, 15 Nov (TASS)—Kazakhstan and the Sultanate of Oman signed the first intergovernmental treaty on cooperation in Muscat on Thursday [14 November]. In accordance with this document, Oman will render assistance to Kazakhstan in the study and appraisal of the republic's oil resources and the development of its oil industry. The Sultanate will also take part in creating an international oil pipeline from Kazakhstan to the Persian Gulf region.

During the talks, which were held in the Omani capital between Kalyk Abdullayev, deputy prime minister and minister of external relations of Kazakhstan, and Qais al-Zawawi, deputy prime minister for financial and economic affairs of the Sultanate of Oman, an accord on financial cooperation between the Kazakh and Omani sides was reached. It is not ruled out in Omani business circles that the Sultanate will grant Kazakhstan a loan of $200 million for the requirements of industrial development.

The Kazakh delegation has been on an official visit to Oman.

Chechen Terrorist Issues Threats

PM1511120491 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Nov 91 p 1

[Ye. Dotsuk report from Kazakhstan under general heading: "Groznyy: State of Emergency Lifted. Situation: Emergency"]

[Text] By all appearances, the appeal by President Dudayev to all Chechens was heard, at least in Kazakhstan. The other day an unidentified person made a press statement to the newspaper KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA, by telephone. In the name of the Chechen national liberation army, he demanded that Kazakhstan immediately speak out on the question of the actions of Yeltsin and the Russian parliament with regard to the Chechen Republic. Three days are allowed, for reflection. If on the expiry of the allotted period the demand is not fulfilled, several terrorist acts are promised, among them three explosions on the railroads—according to the caller, preparations have already been made. The explosions will take place on the border between the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] and Kazakhstan, on Russian territory.

The allotted three-day period expires today.

When N. Nazarbayev was asked whether he attaches serious significance to certain threats emanating from Groznyy, the president of Kazakhstan replied: "Certainly. There are a good many Chechens in our republic too, and they could easily unite. Terrorism is a dreadful thing."

Kyrgyzstan

Republics Raise Staple Food Prices

LD1611034991 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1700 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] Amid the rising wave of price rises in the Soviet Union, the government of the Central Asian republic of Kyrgyzstan has announced price increases on flour and sugar, liberalizing tobacco prices. In Tajikistan, prices of bread and meat have been up and there has been a big increase in gas rates and city transport fares, and the government is contemplating a new rise in food prices, including sugar and cereals. The price of tea, which is the staple local beverage, will be more than doubled.

Unprofitable Farms To Be Liquidated

LD2011002191 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0900 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] The Republic of Kyrgyzstan in Central Asia intends to deeply reform its agriculture by liquidating unprofitable collective and state farms. Under a decree signed by President Askar Akayev of this republic, their lands will be passed over to all who are willing to run independent farms.

Future farmers will receive hundreds of hectares of irrigated land. Although a state order for farming products will be preserved, it will be sold at free prices.

Tajikistan

Exchange Agreement With Georgia Concluded

LD2011094191 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Uzbek 1400 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Ashurov, chairman of the state supply committee of the Republic of Tajikistan, and Chkheidze, minister for material resources of Georgia, concluded an intergovermental economic agreement for 1992 on the mutual supply of materials. Tajikistan will be supplying Georgia with nonferrous metals, chemical, and petrochemical products, construction materials, electrical hardware equipment, light industry goods, and other products.

Georgia will be supplying us with metals, chemicals, petrochemical, and timber processing industry products, construction materials, (?mining) equipments, (?computers), instruments, and other goods. The Tajikistan state supply will be purchasing from Georgia goods amounting to more than 94 million rubles [R] and will be exporting to Georgia goods worth more than R73 million.

Economic Pact With Moldova Concluded

LD1811220191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 18 Nov

[Text] Talks between sovereign Tajikistan and Moldavia ended in Dushanbe with the conclusion of an agreement on trade and economic cooperation. The sides agreed to maintain the mutual supply of output for 1992 at the level of 1990. Assistance in the preservation and expansion of direct economic links—directly between enterprises and organizations with regard to mutual trade in raw materials and manufactured output, including consumer goods—is envisaged in the document.

Turkmenia

President Niyazov Granted Additional Powers

PM1511150091 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Nov 91 Union Edition p 2

[Vladimir Kuleshov report from Ashkhabad under the "Direct Line" rubric: "President Decides To Freeze Retail Prices"]

[Text] In view of the special complexity of the transitional period in the economy and the need for emergency measures to stabilize production and ensure social protection of the population, the Supreme Soviet of Turkmenistan has granted to republic President S. Niyazov, prior to the adoption of the new constitution, additional powers on questions of forming the current budget and changing the structures of organs of state administration and the composition of the government.

Saparmurad Niyazov has temporarily taken on direct leadership of the Turkmenistan Government. It is not yet a question of abolishing the post of republic prime minister, although Khan Akhmedov has been relieved of the duties of prime minister: Having been appointed chief of the newly formed Turkmen Railroad, he remains a member of the presidential council and will be in charge of questions of coordinating the work of the republic's transportation republic.

"The present day requires a new vision, new approaches in tackling the main questions," Turkmenistan President S. Niyazov said at the republic Supreme Soviet session. "We will not increase prices this year. The government is capable of protecting the population and the economy against the policy of increasing prices that is being pursued in other republics. But we will be forced to increase the price of cotton, gas, oil, and other raw materials up to the level of world prices."

New Party Formed; Congress Set for 16 Dec

LD2011051491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1802 GMT 19 Nov 91

[By TURKMENINFORM correspondent Nina Chunakova]

[Text] Askhabad, 19 Nov (TASS)—The Turkmenistan Communist Party Central Committee plenum ended its work in Ashkhabad today. During the course of the two days of its work, its participants decided the future of their party, whose ranks to date number 116,000 communists. It was noted at the plenum that "the party organization of the republic has not avoided political miscalculations, nor was it able to withstand the diktat of the center and this has lead to the traditional way of life of the Turkmen people being consigned to oblivion. At the same time, the communists of Turkmenistan should not bear the whole burden of responsibility for the errors of the CPSU." The plenum adopted a decision on the fundamental reform of the party, on change to its aims and tasks. It was decided to set up on its basis the Democratic Party of Turkmenistan [Demokraticheskaya Partiya Turkmenistana]. The congress, which is planned for 16 December, will make the final decision on this question.

Uzbekistan

President Defends Delay in Signing Treaty

LD1911195291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1815 GMT 19 Nov 91

[By UZTAG-TASS correspondent Vladimir Pruger]

[Text] Tashkent, 19 Nov (UZTAG-TASS)—Noting the undoubted progress in the drafting of the political treaty on the Union of Sovereign States, President of Uzbekistan Islam Karimov considers that the republic cannot sign it with the proposed wording. He justified his opinion in his speech at the current session of the Supreme Soviet of Uzbekistan.

In the president's opinion, the draft does not fully take into account the state independence of the republic. In particular, it does not embody Uzbekistan's proposals that the independent states forming the Union possess full political power in their territories. The Union states, Islam Karimov considers, should be not only members of the international community, as is noted in the draft, but also subjects of international law.

Nor does the draft reflect unconditional acknowledgement by all signatories of the treaty of the immutability of the state borders existing at the moment of the signing of the document. "Surely the slightest mistake in this issue could cause a repetition of the Karabakh situation," the Uzbek president stated.

The draft does not reflect the point that all signatories of the treaty build their relations on the basis of equality and noninterference in each other's internal affairs. In Islam Karimov's opinion, "this could again cause a division into 'older' and 'younger' brothers." "Therefore," the president said, "only after practical measures have been taken to resolve these vitally important issues is there any sense in talking about signing the said document."

Solution of Debt Issue Necessary

LD1911194191

[Editorial Report] Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1630 GMT on 19 November, in the "TV Inform" newscast, carries a two-minute report on the continuing eighth session of the Supreme Soviet of Uzbekistan in Tashkent.

Reporter M. Ganiyev, identified by caption, reports that the morning session started with a report on the Moscow meeting of the G-7 and heads of sovereign states of the former Union. Interviewed about this, President of Uzbekistan I.A. Karimov says: "Among the 12 republics conducting talks on a firm basis only four republics, or states, can to any extent command the resources that might serve as the basis for payment. It is precisely the position of these four republics that matters. Among these four republics, Uzbekistan has its own opinion. We are firmly of the conviction that until the nature of these debts is defined, until the mechanism is defined as to who must contribute how much to the repayment of these debts, we do not intend to sign the memorandum."

Ganiyev adds that Uzbekistan is a major supplier of gold and precious metals, but also the poorest in the former Union. A majority of people's deputies confirm Karimov's opinion.

At the session a decision was adopted to reject the draft Union treaty on formation of a Union of sovereign states until the signing of interrepublican treaties and agreements by the sovereign republics and until the clarification and adoption of a number of Uzbekistan's proposals ensuring its independence.

The parliament ratified the law on the referendum and resolved to hold a national referendum on 29 December on the question of independence for the Republic of Uzbekistan. Owing to disagreements, debate on the bill on privatization was adjourned. The reporter notes that the session will continue.

Referendum on Independence To Be Held 29 Dec

OW1911165291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1510 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Uzbekistan will hold a referendum on the issue of proclaiming its independence on December 29. This was decided on Tuesday [19 November] by the Uzbek parliament at its session in Tashkent. Participants in the referendum will have to answer the following question: "Do you approve independence proclaimed for the republic by the Uzbek parliament?"

On the same day, December 29, the people of Uzbekistan elect their president and the mayor of Tashkent.

The forming of the first parliamentary faction, that of the People's Democratic Party of Uzbekistan, successor to the republican Communist Party, was declared at the parliamentary session.

At the founding conference of the faction it was announced that the faction's activity will be based on the party's program aimed at ensuring real independence for Uzbekistan.

Supreme Soviet Adopts Law on New State Flag

LD1911010591 Moscow TASS in English 2022 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] Tashkent November 18 TASS—A new state flag of Uzbekistan—a three-color cloth with a crescent and twelve stars—was raised today above the presidential palace in downtown Tashkent, as the republican parliament adopted a law on state flag.

The Supreme Soviet has also decided to hold the elections of Uzbek president on December 29, 1991. On the same day, a national referendum on the republic's state independence will be held.

Decree Raising Public Sector Salaries Issued

LD1711224791 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2200 GMT 17 Nov 91

[Text] President Islam Karimov of Uzbekistan has issued a decree on measures to support the standard of living of members of the population funded by the state. From 1 January next year, the pay of workers in public education, health, culture, social welfare, and the housing and public utilities sectors will be increased by an average of 40-50 percent. Student grants will go up 30 percent.

Mufti Considers Running for President

OW1911220891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1748 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Chairman of the Central Asian spiritual movement, Mufti Mukhammad Sodik may run for President of Uzbekistan in the upcoming elections December 29th. This has been suggested by the former kazi (spiritual leader) of Khyrgyz Muslims, Sadykzhan Kamalov, who is currently the president of the center for Islamic culture. In his opinion, Sodik recently travelled to cities in the Fergansky valley in order to secure the support of mufti believers.

In an INTERFAX interviev with Kamalov, he noted that Mukhammad Sodik had lost authority among muslims. This occured during protests this past summer in Tashkent. At that time, a group of muslims accused the mufti of having close ties to the party and state apparatus, and demanded their removal. The mufti attempt to have their own candidate as president can be seen as an attempt to secure an Islamic regime in the republic, Kamalov says.

The current Kazi of Khyrgyz Muslims, Kimsaibai Abdyrakhmanov, thinks that a small group of Uzbek religious activists are responsible for promoting a mufti candidate for president.

Chairman of Berlik Movement Interviewed

LD1611232991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1300 GMT 16 Nov 91

[Interview with M. Inakov, chairman of the Revision Commission of the Berlik movement in Uzbekistan, by M. Ganiyev; date and place not given; from the "TV Inform" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Ganayev] Berlik in Uzbek means unity. The democratic movement is three years old. More than 300,000 members are among its ranks. Discussions, guesses, and scandal stories surround the organization. Berlik has spoken and speaks in favor of the republic's independence, against the bullying of younger soldiers by older ones and killings in the Army, and in favor of publicizing the reasons for the Fergana and Osh tragedies. The movement has fought for juridical recognition for a long time. Democratic changes in the republic have provided this opportunity at last. What are the main aims of Berlik today?

[Inakov] The first is to arouse the ordinary people from their lethargy and increase their political activity. The second is to create democratic institutions in the republic. And the third is to create a sovereign, independent, law-abiding, and democratic state.

[Ganiyev] As before, Berlik is for radical action, a multiparty system in the republic, and an ideological struggle among parties. It does not reject the Islamic party although it is against Islamic fundamentalism. It is attracted toward a state structure of the Turkish type. At the next presidential election in Uzbekistan they intend to nominate a candidate from the leaders of the movement.

Trade, Economic Agreement Signed With Moldova

LD1511101191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1400 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] An agreement between the Governments of the Republic of Uzbekistan and the Republic of Moldova for 1992 was signed today on the principles of trade and economic cooperation.